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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

SENTENCING CONTINUES

BZU Protests Demo Sentences

Over 500 BZU students demonstrated, August 9, against the military authorities' harsh sentences passed on alleged participants in a July 27 campus protest against the killings at Hebron University.

One Bir Zeit student was sentenced, August 7, to two years in jail, and another seven to 18 months for alleged participation in stone throwing at Israeli troops who attempted to stop a demonstration on BZU campus, July 27. The military court acquitted six other students.

The demonstrators marched from the old to the new campus. They carried banners condemning the sentences and demanding immediate release of the students. Banners also proclaimed support for the PLO.

At a press conference held after the demonstration, students reiterated their determination "to carry on with the national struggle until all our legitimate aims are met." The students declared a one-day strike on campus.

A day earlier, BZU administrators held a protest press conference at the American Colony Hotel, East Jerusalem, in which several speakers talked about the case.

Dr Gabi Baramki, BZU acting president, said: "The harsh measures taken by the military authorities against our students in the last week seem designed not to punish specific offences but to strip our young people of hope and create a generation of despair."

Baramki denounced calls by Knesset Member Eliahu Ben Elissar for the government to deport Arab stone throwers to Jordan.

"As our press release of August 3 states," Baramki continued, "Bir Zeit University strongly protests the mass arrest of our students and believes these students to be the victims of random selection by the soldiers. None were arrested in the act of committing any offence. Instead, they were arrested on later identification by soldiers, who, unless they have superhuman powers of observation and memory, must be considered shaky witnesses.

"I stress that all elements of the Bir Zeit University community — administrators, students and faculty — are devoted to the goal of preserving and developing our university as an independent academic institution that can serve the many needs of our population. We do not want — and we do not think it just — that we begin our next academic year with 30 students out of the classroom and in prison. We thus ask for the help of all concerned academic institutions, human rights organisations and individuals to protest these harsh measures against our students, to demand the release of all detained students and to insist that the military cease its interference in the universities." (Translation: Al Shaab, Al Ittihad, August 10).

PCC SETS UP COMMITTEE TO CALM FATAH, SYRIA DISPUTES

The Palestinian Central Council (PCC) convened in Tunis from August 3 to 6 and established a special committee to resolve internal disputes in Fatah and "restore normal relations with Syria." A military committee was set up to supervise a ceasefire between the embattled forces in the Beqa'a valley.

The PCC, the body which stands between the Palestinian National Council and the PLO Executive Committee, met to discuss the now two-month old crisis between dissidents and the mainstream leadership in the Fatah movement, the largest faction in the PLO. It authorised an 18-member committee which is due in Damascus next Monday, August 15, to try to resolve the parallel dispute with Syria.

At the end of the three day meeting, the 79 members (the two representatives of the pro-Syrian Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command were absent) adopted a number of resolutions and recommendations on Palestinian national, Arab and international relations.

On local Palestinian issues, the PCC's final statement urged greater unity and support for the PLO and its collective leadership. The statement saluted the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation and called for all kinds of support to beef up steadfastness. The council also called for implementation of the 16th PNC resolutions, which call for the establishment of a National Front and a consolidated armed struggle against the Israeli occupation.

On the Arab national level, the council, while expressing disappointment at Syria's expulsion of PLO leader Yasir Arafat, affirmed the urgent need to solve all standing problems through dialogue. Dialogue, the statements continued, is necessary to build a strong front against US attempts to "spread hegemony over the region and carry out US-Israeli schemes, particularly the Camp David agreement, the Reagan plan or the US-Israeli agreement which was imposed on Lebanon."

"The council envisages that consolidating Syrian, national Lebanese and Palestinian relations is a necessary instrument to secure the Arab national identity, unity and independence of Lebanon," the statement said. The council also expressed full support to the recently formed Lebanese National Salvation Front as the leader of the struggle against the US-Israeli agreement.

On the international scene, the PCC condemned the increasing presence of US Rapid Deployment Forces bases in the Middle East and warned that this presence "is aimed against the Arab liberation forces and the PLO."

"The council affirms that consolidating relations with Arab liberation forces, the socialist block and the Soviet Union, and the African, Islamic and other friendly nations is an instrument to confront the imperialistic US-Israeli attacks on our people and their national rights," the statement reads.

At the end of the statement, the council repeated the call for greater Palestinian unity and saluted Palestinian political prisoners in Israeli captivity, particularly prisoners at Ansar detention camp, South Lebanon.

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Ben Elissar Calls for Expulsions

Eliahu Ben Elissar, chairman of the Israeli Knesset's foreign affairs and defence committee, has stated that he does not "shy away" from deporting Palestinian youths convicted of stone-throwing to Jordan, *The Jerusalem Post* reported, August 5.

In an interview with the magazine of the Israeli settlement movement, *Nekuda*, the Likud (Herut) Knesset member, who previously served as Israel's ambassador to Egypt, said, "If anyone feels uncomfortable living under Israeli rule, the choice to live under an Arab regime is open to him."

He also assured Israeli settlers that the Camp David autonomy scheme, which his government is trying to force on the occupied territories, does not constitute an "ideological contradiction" with Israeli sovereignty on the West Bank and Gaza.

During the past few months, a number of Israeli officials have voiced support for automatic deportation of youths charged with stone throwing. The highest level call came from Israeli Chief of Staff, Moshe Levy, and the Israeli commander of the central region, General Ori Orr, who presented secret recommendations to the Israeli defence ministry, last May, for punishment of stone throwers, including expulsion.

MC FARLANE STARTS QUADRILATERAL TALKS

US Special Envoy to the Middle East, Robert McFarlane, spent the first week of his mission shuttling between various capitals. Leaks indicate a complete failure in his attempts to get movement on troop withdrawal in Lebanon. McFarlane, who replaced Philip Habib last week, suffered his worst defeats in Israel and Syria.

During a two day visit to Israel, August 2-4, McFarlane conveyed to Prime Minister Menachem Begin, Defence Minister Moshe Arens, and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir Lebanese fears that Israeli government plans for deployment could result in *de facto* partition of the country. The US envoy also presented the Lebanese government demand that Israel give a written commitment, and draw up a timetable for a full withdrawal.

Israeli officials rejected the idea and countered with a demand for a written assurance and a timetable for the withdrawal of Syrian forces.

Two days later, McFarlane suffered a second defeat in Damascus. During six hours of closed talks with Syrian President Hafez Assad, he presented suggestions for a separation of forces agreement. He conveyed Israel's demand for a timetable for Syrian withdrawal.

President Assad reiterated his country's stand towards the US proposals. He reportedly told the US envoy that the US-mediated Israeli-Lebanese agreement is "turning Lebanon into an Israeli protectorate."

The US envoy also paid a one-day visit to Saudi Arabia for discussions on his current mission. In an attempt to demonstrate his embarrassment at the US veto of Arab draft resolution at the UN Security Council a few days earlier (regarding Israeli settlements as illegal), Saudi King Fahd delayed his meeting with McFarlane for 24 hours. When held, they focused on finding ways to exert pressure on Syria to accept the US-Israeli terms for withdrawal from Lebanon. There were no details about what went on in the closed meeting.

On his way back to his temporary headquarters in Beirut, August 9, McFarlane stopped for a luncheon and talks with King Hussein of Jordan. The talks reportedly went beyond the Lebanese problem, and touched the larger issue of the Palestinian problem. According to news reports, US President Ronald Reagan's special envoy conveyed his superior's "firm commitment to a lasting Middle East settlement."

In the August 10 shelling of Beirut, several shells had reportedly fallen near the car of US Special Envoy to the Middle East Robert McFarlane, who was visiting US marines in the Beirut airport.

Presently, McFarlane is taking residence in Beirut, apparently awaiting new directions from his superiors in Washington. News analysts predict quick developments in the Lebanese arena. According to the well-informed Beirut paper, *Al Nahar*, and the Phalangist Voice of Lebanon radio station, the Gemayel government has offered to nullify its pact with Israel if Syria will publish a programme for complete withdrawal, and ratify it if Israel does so.

On August 10, Dani Chamoun, son of the former Lebanese president Camille, met Shamir in Jerusalem. He said he is reentering Lebanese politics after five years in exile in Paris, and called for the ratification of the US-backed Lebanon-Israeli treaty.

New Battles, Same War

Two Israeli soldiers were killed and five wounded by artillery fire, August 10, as Lebanese army troops and Progressive Socialist Party militias battled near Israeli positions in the Shouf in Lebanon. A third Israeli died in hospital from wounds received two months ago.

Beirut International Airport was closed after dozens of shells hit the tarmac, airport buildings and waiting taxis when PSP fighters targeted Lebanese army positions in the immediate area. At least four people died and 24 others were injured, one a US marine in the multinational forces which guard south Beirut. The Lebanese Defence Ministry in Yarze and army bases were also hit in the barrage which was unleashed in response to the army's shelling of PSP positions.

An Israeli military spokesman accused PSP fighters of deliberately shelling Israeli positions. The Syrian government-run radio station said that at least four Israeli soldiers were killed when they were caught in the middle of the exchange of fire.

PSP Druze militiamen abducted, August 10, three Lebanese cabinet ministers -- Minister of Public Works Pierre Khoury, Minister of Finance Abd al-Hamiyeh and Minister of Public Health Adnan Mrouweh -- as they were returning from a meeting with Sheikh Mohammad Abu Shakra, the spiritual leader of the Lebanese Druze community. The kidnappers reportedly put five conditions for the release of the three ministers: the resignation of the cabinet, the withdrawal of the Lebanese army from the Shouf, the removal of Lebanese army artillery aimed at Druze villages in the Shouf, guarantees of equal rights for all religious sects in the country and guarantees that Lebanon will maintain its Arab identity. The three ministers were released August 11 and carried the Druze demands.

The PSP issued a press statement accusing the "sectarian Lebanese army" of plotting to dislodge them from the Shouf mountains in order to push through the US-mediated Israeli-Lebanese agreement. The statement said that PSP fighters seized two armoured vehicles, 10 soldier transport vehicles and 60 personal weapons pieces from the Lebanese army.

The escalation of fighting coincided with Israeli army preparations to pull back in the area and turn over positions to the Phalangist-dominated Lebanese army. Earlier in the week, terror bombs exploded in crowded nationalist areas in northern and eastern Lebanon, killing 55.

Israeli troops closed off areas which came under military attacks and prevented journalists from checking the attack place.

Among several attacks against Israeli occupation troops, two positions -- one near Kufr Shima, in the Shwaifat area, and the other in al-Hadath area were attacked on August 7. Foreign media reports said that RPG rockets were used in the attacks.

In the Beqa'a valley, Syrian anti-aircraft missile bases shot down an Israeli drone, August 8, the second in two weeks. It fell near the Syrian border. Israeli military spokesmen, meanwhile, acknowledging the incident, accused Syria of heating up the situation in the Beqa'a valley.

Four days earlier, on August 5, foreign media reporters said that a brief exchange of fire occurred between Syrian and Israeli troops, near Qub Elias. The reports said that the two sides used automatic weapons only.

ICRC Calls Lebanon State of Insecurity

The International Committee of the Red Cross has expressed concern about the worsening state of insecurity being experienced by Palestinian civilians in South Lebanon.

ICRC delegates, who make daily visits to six camps in the region, two in Sidon and four in Tyre, have reported a series of fatal shootings and woundings.

The number of civilian victims of bomb attacks on homes and businesses has also risen over the past few weeks, and in early June two ICRC vehicles were blown up outside the sub-delegation in Sidon. The attack was the first of its kind since the ICRC began its humanitarian action in Lebanon 16 years ago.

Continual representations have been made about the incidents to the Israeli authorities, reminding them of their obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention to ensure the full protection of civilians in the territories under their control.

The ICRC made further representations to the Israeli armed forces last month about the blockading of the Lebanese village of Deir Qanoun during a security operation. The village was sealed off for six days and ICRC delegates were repeatedly denied access, as is their right under the Geneva Conventions.

Meanwhile, in the northern Lebanese city of Tripoli, the scene of heavy fighting over the past month between various armed factions, the Lebanese Red Cross, supported by the ICRC, has been providing medical help for victims, and evacuating the most serious cases. *(ICRC Magazine, July 6)*

MOSQUE, MARKET BOMBED IN LEBANON

Fifty-two people, mostly Lebanese civilians, were killed and 163 others wounded in two car bomb explosions within three days in Lebanon. The National Salvation Front (NSF), the recently formed grouping of anti-Gemayel forces, blamed the Phalangist Party and the Beirut government for the attacks, which occurred in predominately Muslim Lebanese areas.

The most serious of the two explosions occurred in the historical town of Ba'albek, in Eastern Lebanon, August 7. Foreign media reports said that a Peugot, loaded with an estimated 100 kilogrammes of TNT, was detonated by remote control in the middle of a crowded market in the city of 40,000. The blast brought down a number of buildings and cut electricity and telephone lines. At least 33 were known dead and 130 injured. The dead, many of whom were women and children, were buried hours after the explosion in a mass grave outside the city. Rescue workers spent two days removing the rubble and looking for survivors. Shops and public offices remained closed throughout the country as an official day of mourning was declared.

Lebanese commentators called the attack particularly brutal and likened it to a similar bomb explosion two days earlier in front of the Hai al-Qubbeh Mosque in Tripoli, which left 19 people dead and 43 wounded. The explosion, which was timed for the large Friday crowd's exit from the noon prayer, brought new tension to the northern city and snipers took positions on roof tops.

A little known group, the Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners, claimed responsibility for both bombs.

The newly-established National Salvation Front, in a statement issued after the second explosion, accused the Beirut regime of responsibility for the two attacks. The statement, which came after a meeting of the three leaders, Walid Jumblatt, head of the Progressive Socialist Party, former president Suleiman Franjiyeh and former prime minister Rashid Karameh, warned that "the continuation of the wave of violence and explosions in the national areas of Lebanon will make the violence affect everybody."

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 171, August 12, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censor	38
Number of aricles totally censored out	13
Number of articles lost at censors	1
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	3
Number of articles partially censored but used	6
Number of articles passed	15

ARENS SCREENS HEBRON DELEGATION

Moshe Arens, Israeli defence minister, met six Hebronites at military headquarters in Hebron, August 7, and received a memorandum concerning the situation in Hebron.

Dr Adib Qaeisi, chairman of the Graduates League in Hebron and one of those who attended the meeting, told *Al Fajr* that the meeting was a result of a telegramme sent to the ministry of defence, July 21.

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Qaeisi, along with Dr Hafez Abd al-Nabi Natshe, chairman of the Friends of the Patients Society, and Yusra Shawer, head of the Hebron Womens Society, were summoned to meet Shlomo Elia, the head of the 'civil administration' at military headquarters in Hebron, August 3. Elia told them to prepare themselves for a meeting with the minister of defence. After the second meeting at ..... headquarters, Qaeisi put together a two page memorandum. The memorandum included the six demands of the ..... institutions and was drawn up in consultation with all of them.

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The dismissed acting-mayor of Hebron, Mustafa Natshe, told *Al Fajr* that only two of those who telegrammed Arens, Khaled Essaileh, a former member of the municipal council, and Dr Adib Qaeisi were invited to attend the meeting with him. The others were Mohammad Rashed Ja'abari, the director of the local education department, Ez al-Din Abdeen, a driver, Diyab Qaeisi, an employee in the labour department and Dr Abd al-Majid Zeer.

Qaeisi said that during the one hour meeting, "we demanded to meet Arens again with a complete delegation consisting of the representatives of all Hebron's national institutes."

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Lawyer Lea Tsemel speaking at the BZU press conference held in Jerusalem, August 8. With her are (left) Nayef Sweitat, president of student council, Gabi Baramki, acting university president, and Albert Aghazarian, director of public relations. (Story on page 1).

Abu Ali Exile Extended, Deportation Threatened

Various restrictions of movement and town arrest orders were renewed on Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip during the last two weeks.

On August 8, Israeli military authorities in Gaza extended the deportation of Abd al-Aziz Shaheen (Abu Ali) for another month. Abu Ali was deported under the "Exile Law for the Public Security and Safety for the Defence of the Region" from his Rafah home to a fenced camp at Duhnieh three months ago. The Gaza legal advisor submitted the new decision to Shaheen's lawyer, Lea Tsemel.

Shaheen must stay in 'House No. 80', Duhnieh region, unless given a permit from the military commander in Gaza. He cannot contact and talk to anyone, publish information or convey opinions to anyone without a permit. His one room has no facilities. From 5:00 pm to 8:00 am he must stay at home. Lea Tsemel, his lawyer, has visited him three times with permits. Western visitors who saw, but could not speak to, Abu Ali two weeks ago told *Al Fajr* that he lives in "very harsh conditions and his health is not good."

Abu Ali Shaheen was released from Israeli jails in September 1982, after serving a 15 year sentence for membership in one of the first Palestinian cells in the occupied territories in 1967.

In December 1982, Abu Ali Shaheen was placed under town arrest order for six months. His status in the country is also being called into question by the military. They have informed his lawyer that they are not willing to issue an ID card to the prisoner and are considering expelling him. The army ordered him deported on his release from jail but withdrew the order after Abu Ali appealed to the Supreme Court.

Ibrahim Dakkak

Ibrahim Dakkak, the head of the Jerusalem-based engineering union for the West Bank, received, August 6, a restriction order for six months which forbids him access, as of July 1, to the Gaza Strip. A second order, signed by Ori Orr, the commander of the central region, dated July 15, forbids him entry to the West Bank.

Dakkak told *Al Fajr* that he received four kinds of restrictions since 1980: not to enter the West Bank or Gaza Strip for a definite period, not to enter a region for an indefinite period, a definite town arrest order and an indefinite town arrest. "By mid-July 1984," Dakkak said, "I will have suffered restriction for four and a half years." He described the orders as "absurd, meaningless and a matter of revenge."

Haj Amin Nasser, the deposed mayor of Qalqiliya, received his third six-month town arrest order since his dismissal. Haj Nasser was summoned to military headquarters in Tulkarm where he was given the order.

According to the new order, Haj Amin must report daily to local police, not leave Qalqiliya during the day, and stay at home from evening to dawn. The first town arrest order was given to the deposed mayor of Qalqiliya on July 20, 1982.

Another journalist and a dentist received town arrest orders from Ori Orr, DATE ?????. Badran Haber, a Hebron reporter, received his seventh town arrest order. Under the new conditions, he must stay home from 6:00 pm to 6:00 am. "I have to stay at home or leave Hebron without a written permit," he explained. The police have the right to search his house at any time and he is ordered to inform the police of any change of his address.

"The new six-month order," said Badran, "enables me to appear before a special military appeals committee."

Dr Azmi Shueibeh, a former member of al-Bireh municipality, received a new second town arrest order 13 days after his previous one ended, July 31. Shueibeh, a dentist in al-Bireh, has to report daily to the police station and stay at home at night. Shueibeh was imprisoned three times last year and served three months in Ramallah jail without trial.

Mohammad Abd al-Fattah Haniyeh, from Azoun near Qalqiliya and a senior student at al-Najah University, was served a six months town arrest order this week. It was signed July 21, and he was ordered to report daily to the police station in Qalqiliya.

BREAK-IN AT UNION COMPOUND THWARTED

Two masked men tried to break into the unions compound at the Columbia building in Jerusalem, August 4. The unsuccessful attempt coincides with increasing attacks on national institutions.

The attempt was discovered at around 9:00 pm by a member of the Press Workers Union, one of the five unions using the compound as headquarters. Faisal Wazwaz, a member of the union's administrative committee, happened to be passing near the building on his way home. He became curious when he saw that the building's main entrance, which is usually closed at night, was open. Before he was able to approach the second floor to check strange voices which he heard near the union's door, he was met by a masked man shouting at him to back off. The man was bearing an open pocket knife. Meanwhile, another man, also masked, was busy trying to open the union's door with a metal bar. "Recognising the seriousness of the thre I went down the stairs and stood across the street," Wazwaz said. He explained that he wanted to make sure that the intruders did not steal any union records or files. Minutes later, they came down and ran up Nablus Road.

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The incident occurred a few days after an attack on *Al Fajr* newspaper, in which a fire bomb was thrown into the offices. Police have made no progress in investigating the attack.

TAX RAID ON OLD CITY SHOE FACTORY

Over 60 employees of the income tax department, accompanied by policemen ..... broke into the Khan Qebat shoe factories, in the Old City of Jerusalem, August 4. They remained for one hour, interrogating merchants about incomes, and confiscating accounts, some cheques and cash. Over 20 were taken away for further interrogation.

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Twenty-three merchants were taken to the department of income tax in West Jerusalem, where they were interrogated about their income. They were all released later.

The same day, a 10-person delegation representing 33 professional organisations in East Jerusalem met west city Mayor Teddy Kollek to discuss "the unacceptable acts of violence against the owners of shoe factories in Khan Qebat." Teddy Kollek reportedly promised to come up with a solution to the problem in the future and to get the Ministry of Finance to issue an agreement with the merchants.

Later, on August 6, Ibrahim Sarfati, the director of the tax investigations department, his assistant, Robin Yafi, and some members of the Jerusalem municipality met representatives of the shoe factories.

Sarfati and other Israeli officials agreed to return the grabbed documents to the merchants within a week and to discuss the owners' demands for official tax figures — based on 1982 demands — with the Ministry of Finance within 15 days and then give an answer to the merchants. Sarfati also promised not to prosecute anyone from Khan Qebat. If anybody committed what the Israeli official reportedly called "a big offence," he would be fined.

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Ibrahim Joulani told *Al Fajr* that most of the Palestinian merchants are not accustomed to keeping western-style accounts and they do not understand tax department notices, which are written only in Hebrew.

Child hit in shoot-out

Five Palestinians were wounded when unidentified men opened fire on a truck taking workers from Gaza to their place of work in Israel, August 10. The lorry was approaching Kibbutz Gat, near Ashkelon, when men in a silver-coloured Subaru car parked at the entrance of the settlement opened fire. The wounded were taken to Kaplan Hospital in Rehovot. Two of the wounded were in critical condition.

Doctors in Kaplan Hospital operated successfully on Issa Odeh, from Taibeh, the Triangle, and his three-year-old son, who was shot in the eye. Issa Odeh's wife was wounded in her arm. A Hebron man received what were described as "medium" injuries.

Israel Radio said the attack was committed by criminals and Israeli police predicted early arrests. (Translation: Al Shaab, Al Fajr, August 11).

QUARRY SPREADS BROWN LUNG SAYS DHEISHEH

The magistrates court in Ramallah heard testimony, August 8, from Yusef Moyal, the local manager of the Israeli Jerusalem-Bethlehem Quarries Company near Dheisheh camp, who claimed that their quarry at the Dheisheh camp and their explosions do not adversely affect either the residents or the nearby water springs in Artas village. The camp's lawyer, Usama Odeh, refuted these claims, basing his rebuttle on the report of the Belgium expert who studied the effects of the Israeli quarry set up 200 metres away from the camp in 1975 and concluded it is "negative and dangerous."

The 15th court session was postponed to September 26 in order to hear the testimony of the general manager of the Israeli quarry and two registrars of company employees in the 'civil administration' in Bethlehem.

The Belgian expert's 30 page research explained that the dust from the quarry causes lung diseases and harms plants and the environment. It filters through windows and doors and adversely affects the residents, the report said.

Residents of Dheisheh camp filed a complaint, October 1981, at the local magistrates court demanding the dismantling of the Israeli quarry. In December 1982, the court issued a decision to remove the company, but the company representatives, who did not attend the court, then appealed the case and it was returned for a rehearing.

Jawdat Mana, a Dheisheh resident, told *Al Fajr* that the company "does not have any evidence to prove their claims" that the quarry is not a health or environmental hazard.

Usama Odeh, the residents' attorney, told *Al Fajr* that under cross examination, Yusef Moyal agreed the quarry makes a lot of noise and spreads dust. Moyal also acknowledged that the nearest house is 100 metres away from the quarry and that the splinters of stones hit residents in the camp. He also agreed that Dheisheh refugee camp is not an industrial area.

The Jerusalem-Bethlehem Quarries Company was registered as a local company in 1972. According to present law, "it is not permitted for an Israeli company to work in the West Bank." "The registration of this company is ambiguous," Odeh concluded.

Quarry dust, splinters and noise afflict Dheisheh children, some living only 100 metres away. /POP

SUMMONSED FOR COMPLAINTS

Israeli authorities summonsed for the second consecutive day, August 9, the 15 Palestinian Dheisheh camp residents who filed complaints to the High Court last month.

"The residents gave testimony to a colonel specially appointed to inquire into Israeli practices in the camp. Two of the 15 complaintants, journalist Hassan Abd al-Jawad and unionist Ahmad Muheisen, were called to the military governorate in Bethlehem but then refused permission to testify.

"Meanwhile, the Israeli authorities have finished asphalting a road through the mountains to the camp. Residents rejected the idea that this road be an alternative to the closed entrance of the camp." (Translation: Al Fajr, August 10).

Police Bar Galileans From Pools, Park

In two separate incidents, *Al Ittihad* daily reported that Israeli police are increasing racist activities against Arabs to prevent them from using resort facilities under Israeli settlement control.

In one incident, Israeli police prevented children participating in a summer camp in Nazareth from entering Ain Jalout pools, August 5. The newspaper said that the police did not give any reason for the barring. They simply stopped residents at a checkpost near the historic pools and ordered them to return. The police even refused to listen to appeals by the head of Ain Haroud settlement, which supervises the pools.

Al Ittihad called police to inquire about the incident but received three different answers from three policemen. One policeman, called Levi, said he knew nothing about the incident because he was off on that day. Another officer, known as Morel, said that he does not know where Ain Jalout is, nor does he know the location of Ain Haroud. "There is nothing in the daily records about the incident," he added.

Two days later, *Al Ittihad* published the licence number of the police car which turned back the bathers.

In another story pubished on August 9, *Al Ittihad* said that Israeli border guards tried to prevent a number of Palestinian families from Mi'lya, Tarshiha and Fassouta, all in the Galilee, from entering Wadi Qam natural park, in upper Galilee, on the pretext that the tractors they arrived in posed an environmental hazard. Tractors are used in Arab villages in the Galilee as a common means of transportation. The paper charged that this was an excuse to prevent Palestinian residents from enjoying the beauty of their country. (Translation: Al Ittihad, August 7-9).

For Sale To Non-Arabs Only

"Selling apartments to Arabs is a crime and national bankruptcy." This is the text of a large advertisement which a resident from the Jewish settlement of Upper Nazareth fixed outside a window of his house overlooking the street.

Al Hamishmar's reporter learned that recently in this building there was a dispute among the apartment inhabitants because one of them refused to sign a contract committing the residents not to sell their apartments to Arabs.

Several months ago, *Al Hamishmar* published a version of a questionaire of the housing association, which is operating in Upper Nazareth among the inhabitants of apartment houses there. According to what is written in the questionaire, the signatories (inhabitants) commit themselves not to sell their apartments to the sons of minorities. Whoever violates this commitment must pay a high fine to the other inhabitants of the building. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, August 9, 1983).

Woman "Hit by Stone"?

Fatmeh Abu Mayaleh, an elderly Palestinian resident of the Old City hospitalised in April after an attack by settlers, was "hit by a stone" Jerusalem police said in reply, August 10, to a complaint filed by the Association for Civil Rights in Israel. The police reported they were not sure whether it was thrown by "Arabs or Jews."

Fatmeh Abu Mayaleh was found by neighbours in her vandalised kitchen, April 3, and taken to Makassed Hospital, where she lay in a coma for several days. A young man who carried her from the apartment was also assaulted.

Police say the woman's injuries were caused by a demonstrator's stone and that they could not find who threw it. An ACRI member told *Al Fajr* she was "surprised" at the police response and that the association would be following up the case.

NBC War Coverage Called 'Bias'

A National Broadcasting Company (NBC) representative called a film prepared by the US-based Americans for a Safe Israel attacking their reportage of Israel's invasion of Lebanon "propagandistic and unforgiveably phoney." The remark came after NBC bureau chief in Israel, Paul Miller, held a special showing of some of their news film from last year. The showing was organised after the Israeli Government Press Office, in conjunction with the American Cultural Centre, held a special screening for foreign journalists of "NBC in Lebanon: A Study in Media Misrepresentation," accusing the TV network of anti-Israel bias.

The Israeli lobby group charged that NBC used "advocacy journalism" by quoting Palestinian sources and Lebanese casualty figures. AFSI countered with an interview with an American general and ordained minister critical of US media coverage and with pictures from what they called the "warm welcome" given Israeli soldiers by Lebanese civilians. It also maintained that only 460 civilians were killed in the war, rather than the 9000 (minimum) figure quoted round-the-world.

NBC's bureau chief in Israel, who was attending the show, stood up at the end of the screening and shouted that it was "propaganda." He corrected several accusations: the two journalists whom AFSI accuses the PLO of killing were in fact killed in a plane crash and an Israeli attack.

Herbert Zweidon, a representative of the group who plans to the show the film to various Israeli institutions, demanded that NBC appear before a US congressional committee for an inquisition about its "bias." He said the two other US networks, ABC and NBC, were only "marginally better" in their coverage of the war.

Israeli government press office official Steve Lebowitz, while denying any Israeli "connection" to the film, had invited foreign journalists to see it.

The film shown by Miller, also screened at the American Cultural Centre, consisted of the same film clips that were shown by the AFSI. They, however, included commentaries stating the Israeli government's position. It also showed NBC news film broadcasts showing distribution of water to thirsty Lebanese civilians by Israeli troops.

Replying to a question on the AFSI group's motives behind attacking NBC, Miller said the Israeli government wanted to paint a more favourable picture of the war and they wanted international media to assist them. He further explained that they wanted international media to report on Israeli aid given to Lebanese civilians, but not to show anything of the severe damage caused to Palestinian refugee camps and the city of Beirut. He also gave an example of "the Israeli public relations campaign" by pointing out foreign public figures and press people's trips to South Lebanon, where they avoid taking them to refugee camps.

FOREIGNERS PROTEST

We the undersigned, citizens of nine countries, wish to protest the unjust and inhumane sentences given to students of Bir Zeit University by the military court of the Israeli occupying forces at Ramallah, West Bank on Sunday, 7 August. These prison sentences question all notions of justice, relying as they do on the sole testimony of soldiers about the activity of people arrested away from the scene of the so-called 'crime'.

This represents yet another attack on the freedom of speech and expression of the inhabitants of the West Bank and when compared with the treatment by the military of the Jewish settlers, exposes the racist attitude of the Israeli authorities towards the indigenous Palestinian population.

We also wish to protest at the brutal treatment and arrest of the peaceful protesters outside the military court, Israeli and foreign alike.

Signed by 70 people from the following countries: Belgium, Denmark, Britain, Ireland, West Germany, the Netherlands, the United States of America and Sweden.

The Dawn

ALFAJR

Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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Telex nos:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw
Washington: 64677 omar uw Hempstead, NY, 11550

The following Editorial was not allowed to be Published in Jerusalem.

NEWS AND WHISPERS

We wonder at the Israeli military censor's understanding of words like 'security' and 'incitement'. This week, as usual, news too inflammatory for the (Palestinian) public to read was censored out of our newspaper by an Israeli officer. (He was no doubt happier about preserving Israeli security from his Jerusalem desk job than from an artillery position in South Lebanon -- three soldiers died in battles this week).

One item, of over 8 totally censored, was a rather small report on a 'visit' Kiryat Arba settlers made to Hebron's market area, or what's left of it. The settlers, under the quasi-religious guidance of former New Yorker Rabbi Moshe Levinger, carefully 'deconstructed' four Palestinian shops. The shopowners were also beaten up, along with an 89-year-old man who was in the market area.

The settlers were on "regular patrol," an upgrading of settler-vigilantism instituted by the military last month. This particular group was protecting, they said, a stone monument which settlers had provocatively placed in the midst of Hebron. Children had smeared the post with black paint and the settlers took their revenge out on whoever had the misfortune of being in the vicinity.

Some violence is whispered and some is shouted, and some is only real to those who saw it or were victims of it. On the front page of the leading Israeli English paper, last month, was a picture of settlers wiping up the blood of the settler who was, unfortunately, killed on a Hebron street.

We cannot go into a description of how the shopkeepers were roughed up; it would no doubt 'incite'. Nor can we even report the bare facts of the incident for our readers, who might wonder at otherwise unexplained outbreaks of violence in Hebron.

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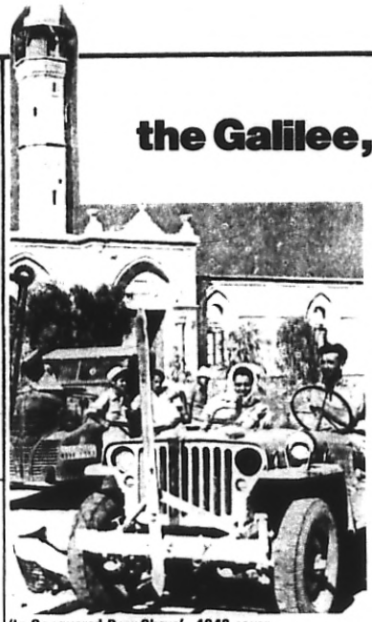


'In Conquered Beer Sheva' - 1948 cover picture from the Israeli army weekly magazine.

Beer Sheba, the Galilee, and Beyond...

by Thoma Shick

History is based on evidence and documents. Today there are still people alive who personally experienced the horrors of the 'first official war' between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, the war of 1947-48, which the Zionists call the War of Independence. But the intentions are difficult to document, except when willingly done. Let's take, for instance, the 'Campaign for Peace in the Galilee' that turned into the invasion of Lebanon by the Israeli army. When did it start? On June 3, 1982, when the Israeli ambassador to London was assassinated? On June 4, when Israeli bombers hit Lebanon? On June 5, when Palestinian *katyushas* returned fire on Kiryat Shemona (Khalsa), or on June 6, when the invasion as a whole started?

None of these dates are correct. It has been well publicised by the Israeli Hebrew press through the last year that plans for the invasion were made long ago. How long ago? An indication can be found in a report dating from long ago in...1948.

Bamahane, the Israeli army's weekly magazine, in its November 11, 1948 issue (No. 10), ran a feature on the conquest of Beer Sheba. The cover page showed the defeated town's mosque, with the conquerors standing around, smiling. The explanation inside was titled *The Week's Picture*, and subtitled: "In conquered Beer Sheba, the gate is open to continue the war, to continue the victories, to Galilee -- and farther on..." The three dots appear in the original.

Besides pictures of the conquering forces and individuals, which are 'natural' in such circumstances, the magazine carries three pictures that mock the misery of the defeated population. One of them shows: "Hamdan al-Latif and Sa'ad Abd al-Karim, tranquil citizens of the Negev -- 'We are not guilty; they forced us. We want peace and tranquility...' "

A photo of a soldier grabbing the ear of a goat that seems unwilling to move is subtitled: "It is obvious that she is more obstinate than her owners, who were defeated."

A picture of the mosque is subtitled: "The mosque of Beer Sheva, one of the nicest of the Negev's buildings, in the central square of the town, opposite the police station."

The text in the same magazine, by now-famous journalists and authors Menachem Thalmi and Ya'akov Av'eli, explains the wicked subtitles of the pictures:

"Beer Sheba -- and beyond...

"Suddenly it is stretched beneath you, still in the distance, but you can see it with its sleepy houses and huts of palish colour, with the minaret of the pompous mosque that sends its domed roof to the desert sky as a voice calling in the wilderness.

"Beer Sheva...sensitive associations of the mind, like a long-desired journey: oasis and settlement in a desert of loam and sand, Levantine romance of the rule of the storms and thieves, the sword and the *hatta*, with the background of sheep and wool, camels and palm fronds.

"And suddenly, at night -- where are the camels and the sheep, the caravans that go southwards to trade their loads in the market? Where is the rope, swollen with wetness, that goes down in the well to hit with its jar the cool liquid that is so delicious to the palate? Where are the market squares and the *narghili*, the calls of the *muezzin* from his mosque, and the man, blind from cataracts, with his tamarhind juice that fills a broad jar, which sweats like ice drops?...

"To be accurate, it should be rememberd: into this atmosphere were woven, because of the times, armoured cars and cruel soldiers of the Nile's army...Afterwards came the six fatal hours when everything of ours was taken over and nobody estimated that indeed we would arrive so early and would want to strangle exactly this township before we try our forces, for instance, in the Majdal and in Gaza.

"These few hours, great and exciting, surprised and sensitised us and the wide world that is looking for sensations -- they made the enemy escape with its trusting soldiers, the *muezzin* from his minaret, the smell of the sheep, and the silent flow, tranquil in its daily routine. With the passing of these hours, the Egyptian flag slowly lowered from the heights of the pole perched on the roof of the brown fort. What jumped upwards, instead, was a young and confident flag of the colour of sky and peace. And there stood our soldiers, infantry and drivers, tank corps and artillery and jeep-staffs, with tired and happy faces. Even the loads of flour-like dust on them could not hide their smiles. They stood and sang when they saw their flag declare by it flight a signal to the distance -- Victory!'

"In the world there is a nice and miraculous word -- humanity! There were days when it had a meaning too. But that was a long time ago, 'when we were young and nice.' The people grew up and stopped using that odd mental habit, and finally it became only a saying. But with us it has been preserved, because of our Jewish obstinacy, and it is not less valuable and important in any of our considerations and deeds than any other element. All this is to say, if there ever were another army conquering a township like this, which is rebellious and harmful by disrupting our caravans and murdering our travellers, wouldn't it be rough and murderous towards it and its population?

"With us there is humanity. We are not ashamed of it, nor do we take pride in it. It is a fact of our mentality, an element of our view of life which is sucked in with mother's milk. According to it, our manners are directed toward an enemy that behaves conversely. Therefore, we didn't take revenge on the population. The surrounding siege lines were opened to the east, and the population of 4000 souls started to rush and flee towards the lines of their brothers -- they, their wives, their children, and their possessions, a little of the little, as much as they could carry in their hands. There remained a few dozen.

"The clever stayed, whose wisdom dominated their deeds even in moments of fear of defeat. Why and how clever? Go and learn that

Continued on page 13

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles, and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

THE DEATH SQUADS

by Uri Avneri

In some countries, gangs under the name of "death squads" operate: they are groups of soldiers or policemen who work outside the framework of official law, or residents who collaborate with the ruling regimes and do the "black jobs" against their fellow citizens.

In some countries, such as El Salvador, these 'squads' kill activists, teachers, priests and unionists in the opposition and after committing the crime throw the corpses into fields.

In Brazil and Indonesia, these 'squads' kill criminals and drug dealers. The police do not intervene in these affairs and do not bring these criminals to court. In all of these countries, the "death squads" operate with the support and the supervision of the authorities. Even if the identities of these people are not known, all know who sent them, who directs then and where they can be found.

It is clear that Israel has joined this grand list. In Israel now, "death squads" are operating under the supervision of the authorities.

I will say vicious words in this article without parliamentary immunity, because this subject is connected with the life of the nation, the state and every one of us. The salvation of the soul rejects religiosity and also rejects legal confusion.

I want to talk in an unequivocal way: I place direct responsibility on the Israeli government for the killing of Emil Greenzweig, the assassination attempt against the mayors in the West Bank, the killing of the Hebron University students and for a long series of killings, attacks, sabotage and other crimes.

Here is "catch-22", the Israeli 1983 model: it is forbidden to direct blame against a certain sector of the public before capturing the perpetrators. The murderers who commit their crimes against the population of the West Bank (and inside Israel against Jews who call for peace) are never captured.

The conclusion is that no one is allowed to accuse anyone else of a series of atrocious political killings. This is an unbearable situation, and I don't intend to take it.

Political crime in general, and political assassination in particular, differs from other kinds of crime because it is easy to discover the perpetrators. In other kinds of crime, criminals try to cover their tracks. The political terrorist acts conversely; in this case the act itself bears a political message and this is the perpetrator's purpose. He is interested in publicising this message. For this reason, there is no complication in the political crime; it is clear because of its character.

In 99 percent of the cases in which people are accused of committing political crime, their identity confirms the first suspicions aroused. Turkish diplomats are not killed by the Hottentot, but by Armenians. The members of the Bader-Meinhoff organisation are not fascists like the South Africans, but German leftists. The killers of the people of the left in Argentina who disappeared were not reporters for Amnesty International, but the Argentine army.

The accused to whom the evidence points always claim it is 'provocation' and that the action was taken by their enemies to discredit them. In maybe 99.9 percent of cases, these charges are in vain.

The political crime is a logical crime. It is destined to achieve the exact purpose which it embodies. There is no doubt that the same applies to the murderous acts which are carried out in the occupied territories.

The purpose is to smooth the way for settlements and to silence the Palestinian resistance, through getting rid of the Palestinians' leadership under occupation and creating an atmosphere of intimidation and terror. Also, overt and covert pressure is being exercised on Arabs to sell their land and emigrate.

These are not the aims of one religious group or another, but of the Israeli government, as both hinted at and expressed openly.

This government armed the settlers and among these settlers are some who don't conceal their intention to force the expulsion of the Arabs from the West Bank. Actually, it created an independent militia, armed and well organised, which receives its directives from a lunatic who underwent treatment in a mental hospital. In any part of the world, such a party belonging to such a government would be labelled 'neo-fascist'.

Apart from the killing of Emil Greenzweig, all the murderous actions were undertaken in an area in which there is absolute Israeli dictatorship and in which there is no limitation. This dictatorship is represented in the Israeli military government.

There should not be any argument that the Israeli government bears the legal responsibility for all that occurs in the occupied territories. This is what international law says. But this ignores the core of the subject. In light of the practical evidence, direct responsibility also falls on the government. The crime is being committed under its supervision, with its encouragement and support.

This is a minimal decision, and if we examine the murderous actions themselves, it will lead us to a much more dangerous conclusion.

Let us take the example of the aggression on the mayors of Ramallah, al-Bireh and Nablus. The purpose, undoubtedly, was to kill the three of them. It was a mere accident that one attack ended with the mutilation of the legs of one victim, the second attack with the mutilation of one leg and the third ended with the injury of a border guard.

The "death squads" — at least three in number — operated on the same night throughout the occupied territories, where every suspicious move arouses a prompt response by the security forces. They moved freely, fixed sophisticated explosive charges and withdrew — a thing which is difficult to do without cooperation with people in the security forces.

After the action, the authorities announced that the largest investigation campaign in the history of the state was opened. Three years have passed since then without any result — while all Arab actions have been solved.

But an investigation proved that the authorities did not make efforts to gather testimony from some of the Arab eyewitnesses, nor did they make any serious investigation of the sites of the incidents.

And since the three victims remained alive, they were deposed by the authorities. Against the main victim, Bassam Shaka'a, a method of harassment has been used 24-hours-a-day by placing soldiers at the entrance to his house, who harass him, his family and his visitors. The whole issue stinks and the smell leads to the government.

The issue of Emil Greenzweig is clear. The intention was to kill many people and only by a miracle was just one person killed. Again, announcements abound of fantastic, unprecedented investigations, and the results — zero.

Every time the situation is tense, they arrest somebody and publish false announcements. The arrests and the announcements divert attention from the real perpetrators, whose identity is very clear, and arouse fears of an Ashkenazi-Sephardi war and sectarian incitement. But every child understands that there is no connection between spontaneous disturbances against demonstrations by children in the street and a planned and well thought out political crime, such as throwing a hand grenade.

There is only one explanation for this conduct: the authorities are convinced, like me, that the action was carried out by a Jewish terrorist organisation which serves the purposes of the government. And there is a possibility that it is the same terrorist organisation which operates in the occupied territories.

If we go over dozens of other crimes, like firing by 'civilians' on stone throwers and mere passers-by in the West Bank, pogroms such as the smashing of car windscreens in al-Bireh, burning the market in Hebron, and many others, we arrive at the mass killing in Hebron. In this case also, it was accident that only three people were killed. The hand grenade and the number of shots which were fired could have killed dozens of men and women.

What was done after the killing? A curfew was imposed on the Arabs in Hebron. The Jews were allowed to move freely. Journalists were banned from meeting the injured in the hospital.

What was not done? No curfew was imposed on the streets, in order to prevent the escape of the killers' car, nor on the suspected neighbourhood. No serious investigation was taken. A *HaOlam HaZe* team which visited the site on the day of the killing was convinced that the police carried out a little investigation just for the sake of doing the duty.

It is absolutely clear where the killers come from and what their aim was. They committed the crime because they knew that nothing would be done against them, that no serious investigation would be undertaken and that they were serving the ends of the government. They are correct.

After this mass killing, no measure was taken to prevent its spread. The militia was not dissolved, weapons were not banned, the sources of the terrorism were not removed, the elements who supported the operation with open mouths were not outlawed.

The investigation methods have not been changed. The methods which have been used to discover all Arab perpetrators in the occupied territories are not implemented against Jewish terrorists.

At the time (of the attacks on the mayors), the head of the General Security Services (Shin Bet) resigned because the prime minister, whose direct command he is under, did not allow him to use effective legal methods against the suspected elements — and the whole country knows who they are. The investigators were not allowed to use even minimal means to conduct a real investigation. In these conditions, the investigation is ridiculous, to say the least.

The inevitable conclusion is that the government is not interested in the results of an investigation because it knows, as I know and the investigators know, who committed the crimes.

In a situation like this, there is no need to talk about "deficiencies," a "failing investigation," or the "ministerial responsibility" of this or that minister. The entire government is responsible.

It is enough to ask what would have happened if assassination attempts were made against mayors of Jerusalem, Petah Tikva and Beit Sha'an (there's no need to talk about mayors of Kiryat Arba, Ariel and Maale Adumim) or if a hand grenade was thrown at a Gush Emunim demonstrator or if a "death squad" broke into the Hebrew University. The question which poses itself, exposes the reasons lying behind the conduct of the Israeli government.

The attempt to assassinate an Israeli diplomat in London by a terrorist organisation which operates from Syria was sufficient reason to start a war in which many people were killed, among them 565 young Israelis to date. The organised methods of the "death squads" in the West Bank are not sufficient to change the treatment of the community from which the killers come. The conclusion is unequivocal: there is no reason to deal with the same public and the killers themselves. The accounting should be with the government which supervises them and encourages them by its acts of ommission and commission, creating a situation in which every one of them knows that he can kill without punishment. The mere existence and the free actions of the "death squads" in Israel changes the essence of the state.

Here lies a horrible message for the distant and the near future. The killers — ready to shed Arab and Jewish blood alike with support from high places — know what they have to do. They are drawing us into a historical catastrophe.

The government of Israel bears horrible responsibility. (Translation: HaOlam HaZe, August 3, 1983)

BEN ELIEZAR:

THE OLD NEW FACE

by Daoud Kuttab

The appointment last month of Binyamin Ben Eliezar as the new co-ordinator of activities in the West Bank has caught many political observers off-guard. Public statements attributed to Ben Eliezar during the past few years have been critical of general Israeli policy in the West Bank and expressed concern about the atmosphere between West Bankers and the Israeli military government after the dismissal of most of the mayors.

Ben Eliezar most recently has expressed opposition to the 'civil administration' and the Village Leagues a pronouncement that kept his name off the list made by West Bank observers of possibilities to fill the vacant coordinator position.

What Ben Eliezar's specific military tactics will be and how he will operate under the authority of Defence Minister Moshe Arens is yet to be seen.

Who is 'Fuad'?

Fuad Ben Eliezar was born in Iraq 42 years ago. After coming to ..... at a young age, he joined a kibbutz and Hebraised his name to Binyamin. He later joined the Israeli army and became a ranking officer in a Druze unit. At the beginning of the civil war in Lebanon in 1975-76, Ben Eliezar was appointed Israel's liaison officer for the right wing Lebanese Phalange. This fact became headline news retroactively when former Israeli defence minister Ariel Sharon, in defending himself after the Sabra and Shatila massacre, accused Labour leader Shimon Peres of involvement in the 1976 Tel al-Za'atar massacre, when Palestinians were slaughtered at the hands of the Phalange.

In 1976, when Ezer Weizmann became defence minister under Begin's Likud government, Ben Eliezar was appointed military commander of the West Bank.

In 1980, Binyamin Ben Eliezar left his West Bank military post and entered partisan politics. He joined a newly-formed Oriental Jewish party, Tami, headed by Aharon Abuhatzeira (recently indicted for stealing government funds).

Ben Eliezar's political stint did not last long. Tami, with most of the members from North Africa, considered him an outsider. He soon left the party after personal and small political differences with party leaders.

During the past three years, Ben Eliezar has been vocal in his criticism of Israeli policy in the West Bank, the idea of 'civil administration' and the Village Leagues, despite the fact that the leagues began before he was commander.

In June 1983, Ben Eliezar was appointed as the coordinator of activities for the West Bank.

His Job

According to Military Order 947, which set up the 'civil administration' in the West Bank and Gaza, civil and military departments are divided. The office of the coordinator of the activities supervises the head of the 'civil administration' and reports to the Israeli defence minister. Ben Eliezar, who is strongly opposed to the idea of 'civil administration', is hoping to be able to cancel the 'civil administration' and then his responsibility would be to be in charge of both the military and civil affairs of the occupied territories.

Despite several attempts, *Al Fajr* was not able to interview the newly-appointed coordinator. But several West Bank mayors who were in office when Ben Eliezar was the commander of the West Bank were willing to talk about that era. Israeli journalists who cover the West Bank were also interviewed and gave insight to the political aims

and methods which Binyamin Ben Eliezar might employ.

Israeli Journalists

Ben Eliezar has spoken openly in front of Israeli journalists about the Village Leagues, calling them "insignificant" and "just quislings." He plans to reduce the budget, power and arms they have been given.

As regards the 'civil administration', Ben Eliezar is quietly telling his friends that it must be abolished because of the internal Israeli situation. "Problems between the 'civil' and military departments are taking place every day," Ben Eliezar reportedly told one journalist.

But the most important concern of Ben Eliezar, according to Israeli TV reporter Rafiq Halabi, is quieting the situation in the occupied territories. According to Halabi, who covered the West Bank for Israel television, during the period that Ben Eliezar was commander, the current atmosphere is the worst since 1967. "In the West Bank there are three camps: PLO supporters, Jordan supporters and Village Leagues," said Halabi. "Milson hit the PLO people hard and tried to support the Village Leagues, but he failed miserably. Fuad's policy will be to support the Jordanian figures. Ben Eliezar's belief is that he can find respected figures from the Jordan camp to accept positions in the municipalities. In particular he thinks of names like Ja'abari in Hebron, Freij in Bethlehem, Nuseibeh in Jerusalem, Zaru in Ramallah and Masri in Nablus."

Israeli journalists say that Ben Eliezar will not resort to elections, considering the virtual across-the-board support for the PLO which resulted in the '76 elections. One group of figures which will be pursued by Ben Eliezar is the Jordan-affiliated Chambers of Commerce, which have maintained strong ties with Amman. In al-Bireh, Halabi says, there is a leaning towards returning Ibrahim Tawil to the al-Bireh municipality.

Mayors' Response

Elias Freij, who has managed to hold on to his position as mayor of Bethlehem while nine others have been yanked from office, also commented on Ben Eliezar's appointment: "I hope that Ben Eliezar will take advantage of his previous experience as commander of the West Bank in order to return the situation in the West Bank to a normal one. It is well known that the municipalities were elected in 1976 as a result of the strong desire of the West Bank population." Freij met with Ben Eliezar shortly after the latter's return to office. "I asked Mr Ben Eliezar to seriously consider the problems facing the municipalities," he told *Al Fajr*.

Last week, Freij hurriedly travelled to Jordan where he met with senior Jordanian officials, including information minister Adnan Abu Odeh. Israel Radio quoted Freij on his return as saying that "Jordan supports the return of the municipalities to work." Reliable sources told *Al Fajr* that Freij's visit was conducted on request of Binyamin Ben Eliezar in order to obtain a 'green light' for Jordanian supporters to accept mayoral positions throughout the West Bank. The source explained that Ben Eliezar will start by looking for a Hebron resident to accept the position vacated after the dismissal of the Hebron municipality last month.

One Israeli's Realisation:

"Mothers my wife's age..."

by Yiftah Shavit
HaOlam HaZeh July 20, 1983

Translator's note: Danny Timmerman, the 31-year-old son of the famous Argentinian journalist Jacob Timmerman, was among the first who refused to do reserve military service in Lebanon. He was convicted and sent to prison for 28 days. He gave an interview to HaOlam HaZeh, *from which* Al Fajr *translated the following section.*

Timmerman: When I was released from the service I went back to study. I studied philosophy and general courses. During the bombing of Beirut, I was studying for the examinations. I wasn't active in any political organisation or protest movement.

My father told me that while the Nazis were destroying the Jews, the universities in Germany continued to operate as if everything was normal; examinations, academic activities, book publishing, etc.

All of a sudden, I started to think and to make comparisons. I remember that I noticed in the bibliography of a book about Greek tragedy that a book was published in Germany in 1941. Then I said to myself: while I am sitting here and studying epistemology, many women and children are being killed in Beirut. They have neither water nor electricity. I myself have a child. And then I began to identify with the citizens of Beirut, with mothers and children and fighters of Beirut. The most dramatic thing I thought about was how the mothers who are my wife's age are crossing the streets of Beirut with their children during the bombings. I remember asking myself - How did it happen that decent German citizens did nothing to stop the war? All of a sudden I found myself in the same position, studying Greek tragedy while a few hundred kilometres from me, people were getting killed. It was very difficult for me to sleep at night.

I was called to the reserves, and three days before my mobilisation, the massacre in the Beirut refugee camps happened. I am sure that our army prepared it. I know the army and I am sure that it is impossible that they did not know for three days what was happening. I am sure that everything was organised. I believe that Sabra and Shatila will have a great effect on the history of our people. The symbol of this war will be the massacre which we organised.

What happened is exactly like what the Nazis did. They used to close a Jewish neighbourhood and let the Ukranians enter it. Now I think that we were mistaken when we believed that the Jewish people is an ethical people. It is proven that we are not different from other peoples.

After I was mobilised, I joined a special unit, where nobody talked about the massacre. Everything was as normal. We were asked to do policing missions in Tyre: roadblock patrols; I stayed there for ten days. I felt as if something broke inside me. Maybe because I saw similar things in Argentina. I had many heated discussions with the men in my unit. They were nice people with whom I had enjoyed serving, once, when I had loved to carry out orders.

But this time, I was nauseous. I went to Haifa and told the communications officer that I refused to continue my service in Lebanon, and he reported that to the unit commander, who decided to send me to jail. Meanwhile, I was sent to work in the kitchen. In the kitchen, I learned something interesting: It is well-known that this people is divided into Sephardim and Ashkenazim. All of us know that most of the Ashkenazim are Labour Partyites and most of the Sephardim are Beginists. The Ashkenazim at the base were wary of talking to me because they were afraid of being identified. On the other hand, the Sephardim, the Beginists, were very friendly and they appreciate people like me who are ready to take courageous actions. It was a sort of a solidarity of the oppressed. The Sephardic cooks prepared sandwiches for the commander and gave them to me to take to the commander so that he would think that I had prepared them.

The distancing of the Ashkenazim expresses the Mapai spirit. They were afraid to be identified as leftists and not patriots. On the other hand, the drivers, the cooks, know what a prison is, and helped me. By the way, my father told me that in Argentina, the best people in the prisons are the cooks...

PROFILE OF THE ISRAELI SETTLERS

A COLONY OF COMMUTERS

The following article, by Israeli journalist Joel Greenberg, was written for the Israeli government press office.

The regional council of Binyamin, which comprises Samarian settlements along the central mountain ridge between Jerusalem and Shiloh, (Ramallah-Nablus area) is the only Jewish regional council in the West Bank which has conducted a systematic statistical study of its population. Other regional councils, such as those for settlements in the Jordan Valley, Mount Hebron, or Samaria, have not compiled such information, and the population characteristics of these areas must be sought through contact with the individual settlements.

However, Yisrael Harel, Secretary of the Council of Settlements in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, says that the Binyamin regional council study is a very accurate reflection of the overall population characteristics of the settlers in the administered territories, and is thus 'more than a representative sample' of this population. Harel's council (as well as the Gush Emunin settlement movement, *Amanah*) have also published informal surveys of their settlements and inhabitants. On the basis of these surveys it is possible to compose the following picture of the Israeli settler population:

A large majority of the settlers are relatively young, between the ages of 20-40. Of the Binyamin regional council, only 4 percent of the adult population is above 50 years old, and some 55 percent are children up to age 18. The large percentage of children is mainly attributed to the high number of children per settler family: more than half the families in the Binyamin region have three or more children, while the average family size for the area is 4.6 persons, higher than the national average. Many of the settler couples are still young and of child-bearing age, and they can therefore be expected to grow even more. Statistics also show that among the settlers, religious couples usually have more children than non-religious couples; for example, the religious settlement of Beit El has only six two-children families, but 39 families with 3-4 children and 14 families with 5-6 children. In contrast, Beit Aryeh, a non-religious settlement with a similar number of families, has 24 families with two children, 22 with with 3-4 children, and only one family with more.

A clear -- but far from overwhelming -- majority of the settlements in the administered territories are religious: 12 out of 19 settlements in the Binyamin region are religious ones, while twenty of thirty settlements surveyed by the settlement council for Judea and Samaria and by *Amamah* are populated by religious settlers, many of them yeshiva graduates or former members of religious youth movements. Five settlements in the Binyamin region are non-religious, and only four such settlements appear in the settlement council and *Amanah* surveys. 66 percent of the families in the Binyamin region define themselves as religious or traditional, while 34 percent say they are not religious. There are also a few settlements with mixed populations: in the Binyamin region there are two settlements with both religious and non-religious residents, and there are others in other areas, such as Kiryat Arba, El-David, and Tekoah (all in Judea). Certain settlements which have been settled exclusively by religious or non-religious families are planned for a mixed population, such as Neve Dekalim in the Gaza Strip and Mahane Yatir in Mount Hebron. The different lifestyles of the religious and non-religious settlers living together do not seem to have caused major social problems in any of the mixed settlements, except for Mitzpeh Jericho (overlooking the city) which became an exclusively religious settlement after serious conflicts had arisen between its religious and non-religious members.

The settlers come from varying ethnic backgrounds, and include persons of both Ashkenazi and Sephardic origin, as well as native Israelis and new immigrants from the Soviet Union, the US and other western countries. In the Binyamin region, 62% of the family-heads are Israeli-born, 27% were born in America or Europe, and 11% in Asia or Africa. Many of the settlements have a mixed population of new immigrants and native Israelis, and some are populated almost exclusively by new immigrants, such as Hadashah, Giv'on and Beit Aryeh (Binyamin region) – largely populated by immigrants from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe – and Matityahu (Binyamin region) and Katif (Gaza Strip), where US immigrants predominate.

The settler population is mostly highly educated. In the Binyamin region, 70% of the heads of families have post high-school education (university or yeshiva), and only 30% have not studied beyond the high school level. It should be noted, however, that a prevalent form of higher education among the male religious settlers is yeshiva (religious seminary – ed.) study; also, the development of high technology industries in the settlements, such as electronics and computer software, means that a portion of the settlers have had the specialised technical training necessary for such work.

About half of the workforce of the settler population, while living in the administered territories, commute to pre-1967 Israel to work.

Only seven settlements in the Binyamin region have less than 50% commuting members, among them Ofra, Shiloh and Beit-El. These are older settlements, and they indicate a trend toward fewer commuters as a settlement becomes more established: the development of its local industry, services and agriculture takes a few years, and only then does it begin to affect the employment patterns of the settlers. Members of new settlements which have not yet developed local industry or agriculture are still compelled to work elsewhere.

The picture in the Binyamin region reflects the situation in the rest of the administered territories, as evidenced in the settlement council and *Amanah* surveys, which show some 50% of the settlements with half or more of their members commuting to work. The Binyamin council figures show that commuting patterns are determined by the metropolitan areas nearest to the settlements: members of settlements near Jerusalem, and on the eastern slopes of the central mountain range commute to Jerusalem, while those on the western slopes commute to Tel Aviv. The further a settlement is from metropolitan areas, the fewer commuters it has.

Working settlers who do not commute are employed at either their home settlements or in their vicinity (35% of the settlers in the Binyamin region). Work on the settlements is predominantly in public and community services such as education, administration, and maintenance of settlements. Smaller numbers of settlers are employed in agriculture and industry, and there are also those who work in business, finance, food supply, and accommodation for tourists. Settlement industries are small scale, usually employing less than 10 persons per factory and manufacturing such products as furniture, jewelry, electronic and optical equipment and computer software. There are also factories in settlements manufacturing products for the defence establishment, such as in Elon Moreh, Tapauh (metal work) and Ma'ale Adumim (Israeli aircraft industry factory).

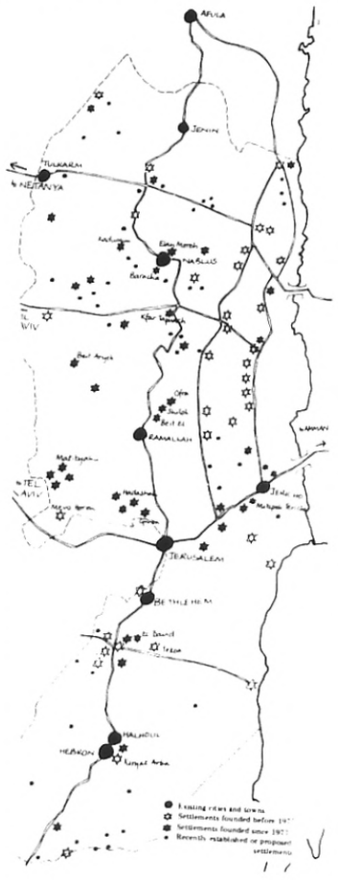
The settlements also maintain tourist facilities, such as hostels, fieldschools, and souvenir and food shops for visitors. Agricultural activity – though limited to a great extent by the geographical conditions in hilly Judea and Samaria – ranges from cultivation of field crops (cotton, wheat, sunflowers, etc.) grapevines and fruit orchards, to shepherding and maintenance of chicken coops and beehives.

In the Binyamin region, where more than half the workforce is employed or studies outside the local area, most are employed in white collar professions (more than 75%), and only a minority (12%) are employed in industry and construction.

The former places of residence of the settlers vary: some settlers were once city-dwellers who continue to work in Israeli cities while living in the administered territories; others are former moshav or kibbutz members who left their old communities to build new ones.

The newest settlements, especially those set up by Gush Emunim's *Amanah* movement, are often made up of settlers recruited from more established Judean or Samarian settlements. A prime example is Bracha, recently established amid much controversy near Nablus: It is currently populated by 15 young families from 12 established Samarian settlements. These "rotating" settlers plan to live at the new settlement for a year, with the aim of developing and preparing it to receive future residents; the families also have the option of staying permanently in Bracha.

The population profile described above is rapidly changing. The administered territories have become the arena for a new form of non-ideological settlement by hundreds of Israelis in search of cheaper and higher quality housing away from the congested metropolitan areas. This search for "quality of life" involves far wider population groups than the young, predominantly religious and ideologically motivated settlers of Gush Emunim. The new Israeli residents of the administered territories will have different characteristics: more of them will be non-religious, with fewer children per family, and an overwhelming majority of them will commute to work from their new homes, "just fifteen minutes away" from the Tel Aviv and Jerusalem metropolitan areas. Thus it can be assumed that while the established settlements will increase their local economic activity and attract more settlers to work in the administered territories, the new residential neighbourhoods across the 'green line' will perpetuate the lifestyle already characteristic of more than half of today's settlers: living in a bedroom community in the administered territories, while continuing to work in more established Israel.



WHAT REALLY HAPPENS IN TEL AVIV?

The police car drove quickly through the streets of Tel Aviv. In it sat an officer and a sergeant from the Tel Aviv central police station in civilian clothes. In the back seat sat another policeman and two workers from the Gaza Strip, who were picked up in a cafe on Ben Yehuda Street. The policeman told the detainees to sit on one another's laps.

"What's your name?" one of them was asked. "Tal'at Abu Samara," he replied. 'Tal'at, you are a worm!" said the sergeant. "Give me back the IS20,000 I gave you."

The detainee was in shock. "I don't know you and I never received money from you," he said.

"You received IS20,000," continued the policeman, "for informing on people who take drugs. But you lied and the people were beaten for nothing."

"That's not true," replied the detainee. "I am no informer."

"Lean towards me," said the officer who was driving. Tal'at leaned forward and the officer turned and spat in his face.

This is not a scene from a new Israeli film. This is part of the testimony given by Tal'at Abu Samara, a Palestinian, 28 years old, from Khan Yunis. Tal'at makes his living selling vegetables. He is a handsome man and speaks Hebrew as Arab workers speak it.

This is the story, as told by Tal'at Abu Samara:

"I was sitting at a cafe on Ben Yehuda Street together with a friend of mine from Gaza, Hassan Adia, and a Jewish woman. Three plainclothes policemen came in, put us against the wall and searched us. They asked the Jewish woman: 'Couldn't you find anyone else to sit with but Arabs?'

"They took away the pills I am supposed to take after every meal because of my ulcer. They also took a gold chain. They asked me whether I had a receipt from the goldsmith who had made it. I said I had one.

"They put me and Hassan into the police car. One of the policemen said he wanted to pimp for my mother and sister.

"They made me sit on Hassan's lap. After the officer spat in my face the sergeant who sat next to me beat me with a club on the knees and hands. I shouted that he should stop maltreating me. He said: 'Maltreatment? I'll show you what that means!'

"He took the cigarette he was smoking and extinguished it on my hand. I screamed. He pushed my head down. He didn't want people on the street to see what was going on in the car.

"They brought me to the police station on Dizengoff Street and separated me from Hassan. The sergeant beat me on the ears. I begged him to let me go. He told me to kiss his shoes. I was afraid – so I did as he said. The officer stood next to him. He told me to kiss the shoes of the officer. Then he told me to sit in a chair and said: 'I'll give you 10 minutes to supply some information. If you don't – I'll kill you or arrest you. If you inform, we shall release you.'

"He left and after a short while I felt strong pains in my stomach. I asked permission to use the lavatory and they told me to piss in my trousers.

"Then the third policeman who was with us in the car entered and asked me what I wanted. I told him I wanted to go to the lavatory. He hit me hard on the stomach exactly where I had been operated on. I collapsed in pain. They put Hassan and me back in the police car and took us to a first aid station. They brought us there handcuffed and told everyone to be careful since we were terrorists. I told the physician I had been through an ulcer operation five months ago and that I was in pain. I didn't tell him I had been beated because the policemen were there and I was afraid.

"The physician gave me a bottle of medicine and told me to keep using it. The officer took the bottle away from me: 'How come you give him the bottle?' he asked. The physician asked no questions and just took the bottle back.

"They took us back to the police station. On the way they cursed us and said: 'We can't stand your stink. You are fouling our car.' They also said to each other, 'Let's kill them.'

"At the station they gave the policemen the bag of pills they had taken from me at the cafe. There were two new pills in it which I knew nothing about. They told me I was being arrested for holding drugs and for stealing a gold chain. I still haven't received the chain back, in spite of the fact that I showed them the receipt from the goldsmith.

"I must take after every meal the pills they took from me. If I don't, I can't hold the food down.

"The first time I had something to eat in detention, I vomited. So I didn't want to eat anymore and I had nothing to eat for the two days I was there. After two days we were released with no charges.

"The day I was released, I was walking down Allenby Street in Tel Aviv, together with Jamal Sultan from Khan Yunis. The three policemen passed us in their car, identified me and stopped the car. They searched me and found the business card of the lawyer Aharon Shenger. They asked me why I had the card. I told them that he was dealing with my detention. They said: 'Bring us information and if you don't, we shall detain you whenver we see you. Now we are going to take your friend. When he returns, you tell him who we are.' "

The story as told by the friend, Jamal Sultan, a worker in Astoria Hotel:

"They made me stand with my legs wide open and hands over the car and took out all they found in my pockets. They hit me and then put me in the car. On the way, one of them said: 'I will push a stick up your ass. I will stuff your mother and sister. You won't work in Tel Aviv anymore.'

"He hit me with a large flashlight on the knees. Then he told me to raise my hands and hold them out. After some time, I got tired and asked to put my hands down. They laughed and said:

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NIGHTLY POGROMS IN THE STREETS

by Amos Kenan
Yediot Aharanot, May 27, 1983

A friend showed me this letter. I have the name and address of this friend. At the end of his testimony, he writes: "I hereby swear that all the above said is the whole truth and I am willing to repeat it in any place."

Here is his testimony: "Yesterday (May 24, 1983) at about 11:00 pm, while watching television in my rooftop flat on Geula Street, Tel Aviv, I heard loud voices cursing and shouting from the street. I went out to the roof, to the corner overlooking Hakovshim Street, near the No. 10 bus stop, and this is what I saw:

"Leaning against the old deserted wall stood three Arab boys with their hands raised and their faces to the wall, their shirts raised up to their shoulders and their trousers open and about to slip down (one of the boys was already only in shorts). Two large men stood beating and kicking the boys from behind. The boys cried in pain. In between punches the men felt the bodies of the boys and took all their belongings (documents and papers) and threw them on the floor, forced the boys to bend down and pick them up and then repeated the whole thing. Behind the men stood a large white car. From the roof I was unable to identify its make, nor see the registration number. The door of the car was open and a mobile communication apparatus lay in front of the car and I could clearly hear voices from the police centre.

"From time to time one of the men reached for the communication apparatus and reported what was going on. The most astonishing fact about this scene was that all around groups of people gathered to watch – probably people who were waiting for the bus. They watched in indifference. Others, passing by, saw what was happening and didn't bother to react."

When this friend of mine went downstairs, the police car had already disappeared and the three boys were limping away. He phoned the police, and after several rejections managed to get through to a man who identified himself as Officer Hezi, who promised to investigate the matter. My friend adds that he saw a similar incident a month earlier, but that was at 1:00 am when no one was to be seen in the street and policemen can do what they wish.

There is no need for this testimony. Everyone knows about it and everyone remains silent about it. There are nightly pogroms in the streets of Tel Aviv. Every night Arab workers are taken away, beaten and set free until the next time. And this is without mentioning the humiliations, maltreatment, writing numbers on their hands, and the verbal filth of prisons, which is shared by prison guards and policemen.

And we are not talking here about the Karp report (on settler vigilantism) and the occupied territories. And we are not speaking about Lebanon, nor Ansar. We are speaking about nightly pogroms in Tel Aviv.

So listen to me, police officer Hezi! Anyone who believes that Arabs are not human beings is no different than those who believe that Jews are not human beings.

And listen to me Mr Turgeman, commander of the Tel Aviv police force! Anyone who believes that the Arab is inferior, is no different than those who believe that the Jew is inferior.

And listen to me Mr Ibtzan, general director of the police; Anyone who performs pogroms on the Arabs is not only no different from those who perform pogroms on the Jews, he shall also perform a pogrom on Jews. Remember the pogrom done to the son of the son of member of the Knesset Rafi Swissa. (*1)

And listen to me member of the Knesset Rafi Swissa; What happened to your son, happened because your friends are silent when the same thing is done to an Arab worker. Yes, a worker, and the workers' party remains silent.

And listen to me you minister of the police, Yosef Burg, also minister of the interior; Whoever allows acts of Sodom and Gomorrah (that is, lawlessness) towards an Arab is no different than the one who enables the acts of Sodom and Gomorrah towards Jews.

And listen to me, you Prime Minister Begin, the man under whose wings this daily horror takes place from Eilat to Ramallah, from Metualla to Tel Aviv, from Nablus to Netanya, listen you who came from there: "What happens to them will happen to us."

And listen to me, you the Israeli citizen who passes by and sees and remains silent: "If you don't want Arabs to wash dishes – wash them yourself. And if you don't want them to clean your lavatories – clean them yourself. And if you don't want them to build your house at Elkana in the West Bank – build it yourself. If you don't even want them as wood-cutters and water-drawers – then cut your own wood and draw your own water..."

And listen to me you, who writes these things week after week in the newspaper, listen: You are on the verge of suffocating. You are going to be suffocated in the vomit you shall swallow, out of shame, you are going to suffocate because you shall be ashamed to breathe the air here. You look around searching for a Jewish face. A face that shows the Jewish tradition of justice, compassion and humanity, and you can't find it. This country is becoming more and more *Judenrein*.

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*1) One of the most sycophantic of the Labour bureaucrats. His son, who "looks like an Arab," was mistaken for one while sitting in a cafe one evening. He was dragged out, beaten and thrown into prison, since he did not have his identification papers proving he was a Jew with him. His father rushed to free him, but both decided not to complain against the police. Apart from the fact that they probably support the policy of pogroms when "not mistaken", the brother of MK Rafi Swissa is a senior officer in the police, and Rafi Swissa has good connections with the French Socialist Party, to whom he preaches about Isneli democracy. – Israel Shahak

"We will never give up!" The Struggle for Bir'im Continues

by Judith Thompson

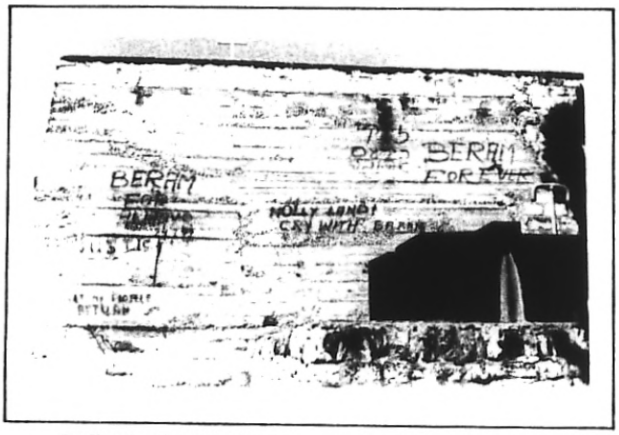
The July 6 demonstration of 80-100 Palestinians in front of the Knesset was not large in number, but the slogan "We will never give up" characterised its out-of-proportion significance.

Since 1948, the inhabitants of Bir'im and Iqrit have been struggling to return to their villages in the Galilee, from which they were evacuated with the promise of return. These two villages – out of over 350 which Israel systematically bulldozed – have organised their voices of protest and appeal for return home for 35 years. At its height in 1972, the movement for Bir'im and Iqrit staged a protest march in Jerusalem headed by Greek Catholic Archbishop Joseph Raya of Haifa (now living in North America). The march numbered 5000 and included the support of leading Jewish politicians and intellectuals. International press coverage has included *The New York Times Magazine*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The London Guardian*, *The Journal of Palestine Studies*, NBC and many other European media outlets.

The demonstration on July 6 was an indication that the on-going protest against this classic story of 'broken promises' will continue. Anxious to press their case with renewed force, the responsibility for carrying on this commitment has been assumed by the second generation villagers, who feel that the old cadre have acquiesced to Begin. Calling themselves the Group of Return, one of them explained: "We refuse to kiss the feet of the oppressor anymore. We need to try a new approach."

Throughout the history of their struggle, the case of the villagers, which has caused Israel international embarrassment and condemnation, has been continually denied on 'security grounds' – the most frequent Zionist retort to all issues of Palestinian human rights. The irony of the Bir'im and Iqrit story explodes the security myth. The villagers, who were primarily Maronite, were well known for their kindness toward the Jews of Palestine, even at the expense of their own safety. It is often pointed out that Yeshua Palmon, who became Ben Gurion's advisor for Arab affairs, was one of the Jewish immigrants harboured and protected by the inhabitants of Bir'im. Furthermore, the most common question is why other villages which are even close to the Lebanon border have remained undisturbed. Following actions coinciding with Land Day this year, Begin, who had campaigned in 1977 on a promise to return the villagers, again pleaded 'security' justifications. In response, Father Elias Chacour, a Melkite priest and native of Bir'im, replied: "Now Israeli borders are beyond Beirut. Where are these security reasons?"

The real reasons for Israeli intransigence on this apparently simple case point to why it has represented such a challenge and threat to every administration since Ben Gurion – all of which have deliberated long hours over the clear injustice these 1500 displaced villagers are raising. Because Bir'im and Iqrit represent several hundred other villages similarly evacuated and destroyed, a just response to their situation would mean facing the bitter truth that Zionism, in order to fulfill itself, must profit at the expense of the Palestinians.



Bar Yoseph, a frequent writer for *Yediot Aharanot*, wrote in 1972 during the heated public debate generated by Bir'im and Iqrit that despite his genuinely deep sympathies for the villagers and their obvious attachment to the land, 'sentimentality' must be put aside. If returning the villagers means disrupting Zionist theory, then it can never be done. Therefore, the 35 years of struggle for Bir'im and Iqrit attack the very roots of Zionism. The most tragic part to the story is the clear-cut implications about the Israeli legal system and the army's disregard for it. That the Israeli system of justice is hostage to Zionist ideology, which shapes and determines it is classically present in the story of Bir'im and Iqrit.

A Look at Facts

In November 1948, after the war had ended, the 1500 inhabitants of Bir'im and were evacuated from their village because of what the Israeli army called possible Arab counter-offensive. With the orders to evacuate, given by the Minister of Police and Minorities, Bechor Shalom Shitrit, came a promise that they would be allowed to return within a few weeks. After living in caves near their homes, they were moved to the village of Jish, one kilometre south-east of Bir'im.

In 1951, after repeated inquiries and requests, the villagers took their case to the High Court of Justice and won. They were upheld in their right to return to their land; it was confirmed that the military authorities had no legal right to prevent their return.

In contempt of the court decision, the military authorities ignored the ruling and prevented the villagers from returning. Then the military governors issued individual expulsion orders to each family and declared the villages closed military areas. In order to underline their intent, the army followed this with an even more devastating blow. On Christmas Day, 1951, the army systematically blew up every house in Iqrit. Sabri Jiryis tells how the army authorities took the village mukhtar to a nearby hilltop where he was forced to witness the destruction of his village from beginning to end.

The villagers again appealed to the Security Zone Committee in the Galilee to reverse the military orders. When that failed, they returned to the High Court which on May 25, 1952 upheld the military orders.

In the case of Bir'im, subsequent High Court decision in September 1953 again upheld the villagers' right to return. However, a month before this decision, the Knesset passed a land acquisition act which retroactively gave the lands to the Israel Development Authority. Immediately following the second High Court decision favouring the villagers, the Israeli airforce mined the village and then dropped incendiary bombs on Bir'im which destroyed every home in the village.

The 1972 protest march, calling for the return of villagers to Bir'am and Iqrit.

The destruction of both Iqrit and Bir'im came immediately after the High Court decisions to allow the villagers to return. Dr Amnon Rubinstein, former Dean of the Law Faculty at Tel Aviv University, commented on the illegality of the army actions: "There is no doubt that their expulsion was committed without authorisation, without the confirmation of the Commander-in-Chief, without the confirmation of the government and without a legal basis; the whole thing was done according to the disputed tradition of establishing facts, a tradition which reached its epitome in the illegal blowing up of a whole Arab village in a deliberate attempt to thwart and to violate a verdict of the Supreme Court."

The villagers continued their struggle through the 60's using peaceful means to press their cause in the Knesset. By then, they became known as "The Uprooted" and their demands were exploited by campaigning politicians eager for Arab support. Mapai politicians promised to help, but after elections they were silent. Mapam's Rustom Bastoni came to Jish (where many had been resettled) during an election, but when reminded that Kibbutz Bir'am, which now stands on the remains of the village, belongs to the Mapam party, Bastoni was silent and never returned. Furthermore, in the Cabinet deliberations of 1972 which supported Golda Meir's refusal to allow the villagers' return, Menachem Begin stated: "An injustice has been done to the residents of Kufr Bir'im... This is a mistaken decision."

In 1972, the villagers of Bir'im returned to their bombed-out village with beds and furniture which they moved into the church ruins. 1000 Israeli citizens joined them, including intellectuals, professors, writers and students. When the Safad police proved unable to budge the protesters, the Border Police were called to remove them by force. Twenty people were arrested.

By this time, Greek Catholic Archbishop Raya of Haifa had emerged as the spiritual and political voice of the movement. The culmination of Raya's leadership was the August 8, 1972 protest march in Jerusalem. Several thousand Palestinians and Jews marched from Jaffa Gate to the Israeli Prime Minister's office.

Again in 1979, the villagers organised a protest march, this time with 200 people carrying olive trees from Jish to Bir'im where they intended to plant them. Two kilometres outside the village they were met by the army and Border Police who blocked them from continuing. But the "March of the Olive Trees" did receive international media attention.

When asked what new methods the Group of Return hopes to employ which will be different from the past, they are not yet sure. What is certain is their intent to continue, and the small yet spirited demonstration in front of the Knesset on July 6 was an expression of determination. In seeking new ways of fighting their battle, one wonders at what is left to try. Every peaceful method has been used to no avail. Fr Joseph Ryan in his article appearing in the *Journal of Palestine Studies* ("Refugees Within Israel: The Case of the Villagers of Kufr Bir'im and Iqrit," Summer, 1973) states the problem clearly: "... if a short story writer were to set out expressly to contrive a set of conditions that would show the futility of Palestinians resorting to peaceful means, he could hardly make up a case more convincing than the reality of Kufr Bir'im and Iqrit."

COMRADE VERONICA

by Ibrahim Dakkak

Facing reality is different from imagining it. No matter what you think about the possibilities and how to face them, the facts structure themselves as spiritual and materialistic entities, without regard for your perceptions. This is what I had discovered when they took me that night to Moscobiyya (the Jerusalem interrogation centre). I was expecting it "one day." But on *that* day, it was a possibility which might or might not occur. And then I found myself walking before them to the military car.

They did not mention where they were going. I sat among soldiers who did not care about my real existence. They did not even look at my face, and nobody tried to talk with me. They were only yawning. They fiddled with their guns, perodically setting them down in more restful positions. There was obviously a barrier between us. They treated me as an object, not a human being, but with discipline. They were behaving, so it seemed to me, according to dull, written orders. Therefore they had not been affected when my mother said goodbye and appealed to them. Her tears did not touch them.

The time was midnight or the early hours of the morning. The weather was cold and the dew was falling on the windscreen of the car, lazy and mild. The tall soldier was cleaning his glasses of dew mixed with dust.

Where am I going? I don't know, but suddenly I remembered the possibility of deportation. This idea fell on my head like a tempest. *Deportation!* What about my mother and brothers, my comrade Veronica? I tried in vain to keep the smile on my lips, to avoid distress.

My suffering ebbed and flowed, depending on small incidents that occurred since the time I left home and hugged my weeping mother. My mother exploded my virility with her feminine weakness. She transformed her tears and my virility into nothingness before the soldiers' discipline.

One of them asked: "What are you going to do after the goods' arrival?" His colleague silenced him with his hand and turned to the radio to hear a message. The soldier who was sitting on my right hand side was crooning a melody which reminded me of the organ tunes I heard in the Church of Saint Veronica. Only the letter "kh" mixed with the words coming out from the radio interrupted my meditation. It seemed to me at that time that all words consisted only of the letter "kh", whose sharp echo with the radio's interference accentuated its heaviness on my ear. But I smiled when I remembered my friend Yacoub as he caught his nose with his thumb and index finger, his face expressing disgust as if at a filthy smell, whenever he heard this "kh" letter.

The idea of deportation comes again urgent and violent. Deportation had been associated in my mind in the past with warm reception of the deportees in Beirut, with photographers' cameras, and travel to Arab capitals. But matters are different now, because I will never see Veronica again. I will not see my neighbour Zakah hanging out her underclothes and in dalliance shaking her breasts and hips to express her frustrated lust. I will not see all the small things I experienced through my life if I am expelled.

Deportation! No, God forbid. How could this happen? To uproot me so easily? To stop me even seeing the excavated street twisting under the car? Time. This time is corroding rapidly, stopping me from seeing things again. It is melting, it is melting like the executed before the executioner.

I remember the Three Red Tuesday, I remember Acre, its prison, its roaring sea, the citadel, Abu Afif's restaurant, Veronica... and Veronica who believes that "the world is with us" and says that the trees will grow again. But how?

How? When I am going to lose the land and time? Don't say this, comrade. Don't say. The future which you talk about is far away and I am living the eternal moment of separation when time loses its meaning.

You said that you surrendered to your cousin on the last night when they uprooted him from the land which had not yet been formed in the belly of his mother. You said that you want to plant the hope of the return in your womb! Don't say anything. Accuse me of anything you want, but I want to remain here, do you understand? To remain here.

The soldier who was sitting beside me seemed not to care about my thoughts. Perhaps he was wishing for a restful sleep or a vacation with his girlfriend by the Sea of Galilee. Or perhaps he was thinking to join his friends in their pioneering, to build a settlement in the Jordan valley. Perhaps he was thinking of travelling abroad, like others, to relieve himself of the life of pressures here and to practice Israeli politics in safety. He had the right to think and choose, perhaps because he had a gun.

How clear does the difference seem at this moment? How futile it is, the difference between the prisoner and the guard. Is it a distinctive characteristic that we have in common — of the mutual fate that each of us is thinking about? He is the prisoner of his discipline and drowned orders and I am his prisoner. Perhaps the difference is only in the degree of the imprisonment. Whatever the differences are, they are futile in reality, but they were augumented in my mind at that moment as I watched him grasp his gun, able to shoot me in the heart if I acted contrary to the drowned orders.

The feeling of those who were sentenced to death and taking a leave from their prison walls floats in my mind. Is it true that the walls of the prison become so dear to them that they cast a final glance before receiving death?

"Veronica, Veronica." How I want to accompany you into exile. But to carry out this wish is impossible, comrade. You have a passport which does not belong to you and I have another that does not belong to me. Therefore I will not meet you and if we meet by coincidence, we will meet as two parties in a state of war and enmity.

Once she said to me, "If they deport you we will never meet again." When I expressed my wonder, she said simply, "Because I will be considered an Israeli and you a Jordanian." When I asked why we could not meet, she said calmly and sadly, "Because they will try me after I return to the homeland for meeting you."

I remembered, at that moment, that my case would be similar. But I would not be able to return to the homeland. She assured me that she would wait for me anyway.

I spent one minute in the Moscobiyya cell, and then the authorities released me. I remained in my country. I was anxious because of events in Lebanon and the West Bank, and because of news in the Arab world and the developments in Israel.

I wanted to meet Veronica. I came to the appointment. The same Veronica -- but without the smile. She met me with a mixture of affection, happiness and fear. She asked me about my experience in prison. When I started revealing the details, her eyes expressed deep worry. She was not listening to me. She was absent-minded, living somewhere else. When I asked her the reason, she said that her cousin was in Beirut. When I asked how he got there from Ain al-Hilweh camp, she said: "I'm afraid he fled from the trap to fall into the snare." She spoke about her cousin as if she were living for him.

Her interest in her cousin aroused me, and sparked the jealousy in my heart. I asked nervously: "Do you still love him?"

She answered calmly as if expecting it, "I love him and you." When I reminded her that he was far away she said confidently: "He will come again, won't he?"

Veronica became vague and her vagueness increased as the battle around Beirut increased and the air raids became more violent. When I told her of my impression, she smiled sadly: "Because men do not completely understand women." When I reminded her of our love, she said: "I didn't say that you don't understand me. Didn't I say that man does not completely understand women? My hope is to have children and bring them up here."

I went up, one Sunday, from Wad Road to the Sixth Station. I entered the church to pray. I listened to the organ. Its tunes were optimistic, despite the sadness dominating the place.

"Hallelujah." A close meditative atmosphere surrounded the place. I looked around to find Veronica but was not able to distinguish her among the worshippers. Their covered heads were bent in great humility and submission, so I could not see their faces clearly.

The mass ended and they went to receive communion. I went along with them and took it from the priest. I walked to the end of the of the church, and stood still before the steps.

When the women passed before me like twins, I tried to find Veronica among them, but did not succeed. But I felt a longing shaking me to the depths. I felt I loved them all, and that all were Veronica.

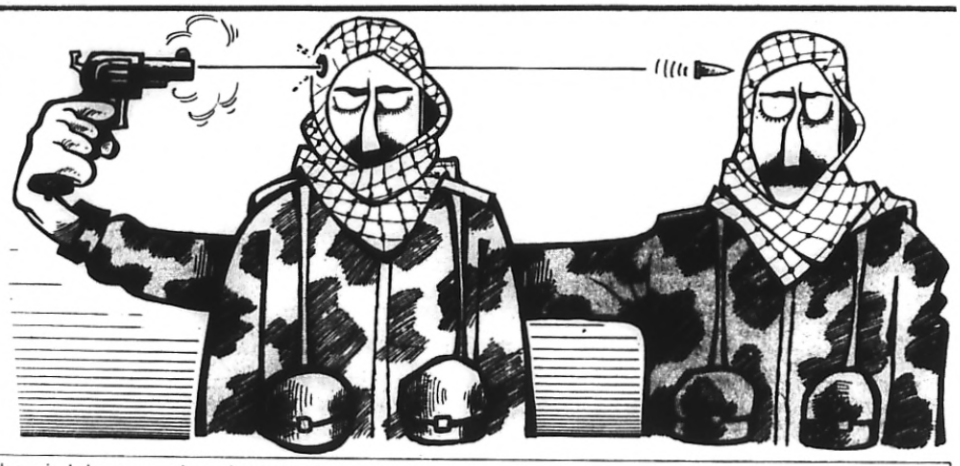
I went up the Khan Zeit and continued until I reached the church of the Holy Sepulchre. I stood before the altar. The candles' flames drew a splendid portrait of Veronica while suckling her first child with smoke and shadows. Her eyes changed into a sea of happiness. On the other side of the altar, there was an embroidered kercheif, coloured the green of olives, the blue of heaven and the red of the land.

"Veronica."

"Veronica has left here."

Tranalated from Al Fajr-Al Adabi, January 1983.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The cycle of violence in Lebanon was the major topic of all the local newspapers this week. The newspapers made the car bombs in Tripoli and Baalbek their lead stories, reporting on the tallies of dead and injured. Attacks on Israeli forces, as well as intra-Lebanese clashes, were also covered.

On the Palestinian front, the local papers gave prominence to the meeting of the PLO's Central Council. The delegation set up by the central committee to follow-up the Fatah cease-fire in the Beqa'a valley was given importance. Local papers listed the names of the cease-fire follow-up committee and editorials gave the committee their blessing, hoping that they will staunch the flow of blood and heal the rift with the Syrian government.

The US Veto and the Arab Stand

The US did not even wait for the blood of the victims of the Hebron massacre to dry before it used its veto to torpedo an Arab proposal condemning the criminal attack on the university of Hebron.

This reprehensible and vindictive move is a blatant defiance flung in the face of the Arab nation and a slap to all Arab leaders who have hitched their wagons to the US star.

Despite the fact that the US was persistently providing conclusive evidence of its traditional hostility towards the Arabs, those leaders continued to follow their blind policy of subjugation, blithely ignoring the endless machinations of the US against the Palestinian people.

We, in the occupied land, on the other hand, were not taken in. And the veto, therefore, did not really surprise us. It was the least we could expect the US to do.

In election year, when American candidates are keen to court the Jewish vote, Reagan had no alternative but to placate Israel. The US is determined to go all the way with Israel, despite the adverse reaction such a policy will provoke; the Arabs can go and hit their heads against a brick wall or drink up the waters of the sea – there is nothing more important (for the US) than the welfare of the Jewish state.

The US has never had any qualms over its Middle East policy; as long as there are Arab leaders willing to superimpose the interests of the US over those of their own nations, the US can rest assured its plans will succeed.

It is absolutely futile for Arab nations to embark upon another round of reprimand and recriminations; we do not seek mere verbal protests against the US. The whole Arab world must mobilise to send the message home to the US that if it persists in violating Arab rights, it will be courting disaster.

AL FAJR
August 4

Why the Surprise?

On September 1, 1982, US President Ronald Reagan criticised Israel's settlement policy, labelling it superfluous to its security needs and an obstacle in the path of peace, discouraging Arabs from entering into negotiations with Israel.

At that time, Reagan was worried about the support of pro-American Arabs and did not want Israel to continue with its settlement drive in order to leave the door open for a dialogue with the Arabs.

Hardly a year later, the US made an about face at the UN Security Council when it vetoed an Arab proposal calling on Israel to dismantle the settlements it established after 1967.

The US said it did not believe such an act was necessary and that the future of these settlements was one of the points to be dealt with during negotiations.

This is merely telling the Arabs that the settlements are a *fait accompli*. Until such time as negotiations are held the US government will prevent any moves to dismantle the settlements.

No one should have been surprised at the US move because we all know the US stand vis-a-vis the Israeli settlements put up on occupied Arab land. The US seeks to preserve its interests in various parts of the world, solely through the medium of might. It seeks to buttress the mighty, and Israel is therefore its natural ally in the Middle East. And if the Arabs want to rely on the US to solve their problems, they had better accept this fact.

AL QUDS
August 5

The American Offensive

The new Special US Envoy has begun his visit to Damascus, within the framework of his Middle East shuttle. And there is no doubt that the US is banking heavily on achieving some success in breaking the logjam and registering tentative progress in its "offensive."

The US is prepared to exploit the Syrian-Palestinian rift to the hilt, and both parties to the conflict are aware that such a split in Arab ranks will weaken the Arab front that opposes the implementation of the American blueprint in the region.

The US offensive reflects a growing propensity in the US to adopt a more aggressive policy in all parts of the world. In addition to backing mercenary forces against the revolutionary regime in Nicaragua and supporting the South American dictatorships, it is intensifying its military interference in Chad.

To top all that, the US is conducting provocative manoeuvers in several parts of the world, and escalating the cold war in Europe, by insisting on the positioning of nuclear missiles on European territory.

In order to stand up to such provocations and foil such sinister schemes we need a unified Arab stand. And we hope that the special committee set up by the Palestinian Central Council to resolve the Syrian-Palestinian conflict will succeed in its mission, because this would give a shot in the arm to our confrontation against the US designs on our region.

AL SHAAB
August 7

To the Rubbish-Heap of History

We have refrained from commenting on the declarations of a misguided American immigrant (Kahane), so how can we comment on the proclamations of former chief-of-staff Rafael Eitan?

Can we console ourselves with the thought that he is a has-been? No, because the words he is mouthing are merely an echo of his beliefs when he was an important government official. At the same time, Eitan is playing a fundamental role in providing Jewish youth with a racist education.

We demanded that this racist be put on trial, and the verdict arrived at by the Kahan Commission should have provided enough grounds for his indictment. We once more record his sayings and call for his trial alongside all those criminals who perpetrated the pogroms in the occupied West Bank and who murdered Emil Greenzweig.

Signs of danger have been proliferating lately, pointing to a serious and concerted effort to solve the 'Arab case' in this land – the land of Arabs. But the only way such a solution can be implemented is by striking down at the roots of democracy here.

We call for constant vigil by all – Arabs and Jews alike – to foil these nefarious 'solutions'. We urge Arabs in particular to call for an accounting from all Zionist parties vis-a-vis their attitude towards the 'thoughts' of Eitan and his ilk. We also call on interior and police minister Yosef Burg to give us an explanation regarding his party's stand.

We call for vigilance, and at the same time we are convinced that Eitan's words betray the bankruptcy and impotence of the Zionist rulers and their policies.

AL ITTIHAD
August 8

New Committee-New Hope

The new committee formed by the PLO Central Council has lost no time in getting down to business; it is entrusted with the onerous task of seeking to resolve the dispute between the PLO and the Syrian regime on the one hand, and between Fatah dissidents and mainstream PLO loyalists on the other.

The committee of reconciliation and rapprochement has all the trademarks of success – its unique composition and the manner in which it was set up will ensure this.

None of the 18 members of the committee holds any office in the Executive Committee or any other position within the PLO leadership hierarchy which may bias him in his decision, every effort has been made to formulate a neutral independent body, unlikely to be swayed or influenced by factional interests or pressures.

The committee members represent social and professional institutions, labour unions, law and women's associations, in addition to members from the West Bank.

The success of the committee will mean a victory for all of us, a step for a just and comprehensive peace in the region and hope for future generations which we must never allow to fall prey to the powers of darkness.

AL FAJR
August 9

US JEWS TOUR FOR PEACE

A group of 33 American Jewish activists, all members of the progressive Jewish Agenda group, arrived in Israel, August 2, for a fact-finding trip. In a press release issued on their arrival, the group announced that they plan to meet with various Israeli peace groups and "Arabs seeking peaceful accommodation with Israel." They also plan to meet Israeli West Bank specialists, including Meron Benvenisti, Professor Y. Harkabi, and journalists Rafiq Halabi and Amnon Kapeliuk.

The group, which consists of university professors, social workers and others, is described, in its press release, as a multi-issue organisation, committed to work on local American issues and international affairs. On the domestic level, they aim to challenge the rise in Jewish conservatism and at the same time work for social justice. Internationally, they stand for a compromise through negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian people.

So far, their mixed and fully-packed schedule included meetings with Sama'an Khoury, editor of *Al Fajr* Palestinian Weekly, a meeting with Elias Freij, mayor of Bethlehem, Amnon Kapeliuk and Ruth Gavison, an Israeli human rights activist.

They also plan meetings with Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad, Bir Zeit officials and lawyer Jonathan Kuttab. A press conference is planned for August 15.

SETTLERS DUMPING

Settlers, driving a '78 Ford, approached the mosque of Khadr village, near Bethlehem, and dumped a load of unidentified material near its entrance. Residents of the village who saw them crowded around but were dispersed by a large force of police and soldiers. They followed the settlers into the village and removed the material without revealing its nature.

Eitan Campaigns For 'Hebrew Labour'

"It should be said to the Arabs, if it is difficult for you to live with us, you have 22 countries." This is what Rafael Eitan, former Israeli chief of staff, said in a meeting with a group of professionals in Ramat Aviv on August 6.

Yediot Aharanot which reported in detail on the meeting, added that Eitan compared Israel to South Africa, which "established some states for the blacks, so that they could live on their own...South Africa is left with four million whites and it is not tied to any external element."

According to *Yediot Aharanot*, Eitan gives lectures three times a week before Israelis in the kibbutzim, moshavim and towns. He is currently helping a group of adults form a new group under the name "Adults for the Sake of Israel." He sees this group as a counter to Peace Now. He said the people in this group told him that Peace Now gave them an image which they do not like.

In the lecture Eitan delivered in Ramat Aviv, he expressed disappointment and dissatisfaction with the disappearance of 'Hebrew labour'. "Do you remember," he asked the crowd, "what the attitude was towards Hebrew labour? Today work has lost its significance."

Eitan also expressed worry about the future of the Israelis. He said that Israelis are losing the ability to survive in 'Eretz Israel'. He commented that if the (Israeli) people do not have a feeling of belonging to the country, there is no basis for what exists now. He remarked, "Even in the schools we hear questions: What right do we have in this country?"

In answer to a question about relations with Arabs raised by the audience, Eitan said: "I was brought up without confusion about this subject. You start with a question: Is this land ours? Remember that our parents were a minority in the Arab population and they were not shocked. The question is, what is the solution in this country when there are two contradictory aims?"

He added, "There are facts. We want to live here and they, the Arabs, want to exterminate us. They will do this if they have the opportunity. The problem in the country is the Arabs' and not ours. We should tell them that if they want to exterminate us, they should not be here; they have 22 Arab countries."

In the course of his speech, Eitan brought up South Africa as an example, claiming that the whites lived in South Africa before the blacks: "I am not sure if the whites there did to the blacks what the Americans and the Argentineans did to the Indians, who were the first residents of the US and Argentina."

According to *Yediot Aharanot*, the audience asked Eitan for a detailed explanation of what he meant by saying, "Arabs have a problem."

Yediot Aharanot said he avoided speaking clearly but he made one slip of the tongue: "When I say they have a problem, this means they have to compete with somebody. Let us remember — there were other exchanges of population in the world but they did not raise this in the Knesset...There are many ways in which the Arabs can be presented with problems. I do not know if I am qualified to say how and what."

Eitan did not hide his opposition to giving allowances to large Arab families, under the pretext that the family heads do not serve in the army. "Why should we give equal rights to those who do not do national duty? Why is it easier for an Arab to take over lands than it is for a Jew? The Arabs' incentive to control this country is as strong as our incentive was before the liberation war."

Continued from page 5

GALILEE

from their brothers who live today in Jaffa, Haifa and Nazareth (translator's remark: they continued to live under a most restricting military government for 19 years, and part of those who remained were further evacuated internally in post-'49 Israel or expelled until the end of 1950 from the Armistice lines).

"And again, our victorious soldiers, full of rejoicing and greatness, didn't comfort themselves in the manner of soldiers of the world's peoples. They didn't rush to loot and destroy, kill or rape the young women of the township. At most, they put in their bags a nice ornamented knife or a sheepskin coat for themselves or their worrying girlfriends back at home.

"And at worst — they entered as they were, dirty and dusty, to the bedrooms of the *effendi* or the merchants and let the circumstances and tiredness of the desert war unload with rhythmical snores of happy tiredness.

"Others were standing in another desert saloon and biting pieces of chicken fried in olive oil or enjoying a dessert of the finest French chateaux wine that was taken from the ornamented and mirrored buffet. After assauging their hunger, they would glance at their armoured vehicles hidden in the sands of the courtyards and, as they were enjoying it, they gathered too in the wide and big bed decorated with sheets and smooth pillows."

(Translator's note: About the same quantity of material describes the battles that were fought.)

The Israeli army has continued to resort to that 'humanity'...in 1967 more people were permitted to flee, and ever since, conditions in the occupied territories have been made such that killing has not been necessary, though sometimes it has occurred.And in Lebanon, ever since 1975, air raids have been used in order to prove and improve that 'humanity', escalating into an overt war in 1982 and ever since. The details of this war are now well known to many intelligent people — those who allegedly have forgotten that 'nice and miraculous word — humanity.' And surprisingly enough, humanity is against this sort of 'humanity' and condemns it, miraculous word!

When, then, did the Campaign for Peace in the Galilee begin?

"It is obvious that she is more obstinate than her owners, who were defeated."

Continued from page 9

TEL AVIV

"This is what we have been waiting for.' The sergeant hit me in the eye.

"They took me to some dark spot not far from the Yarkon River. They took me out of the car. I understood that they were going to beat me and begged them to let me go.

"The officer caught me by my hair and the sergeant began kicking me. I cried and screamed. The sergeant rubbed my hand on a rock. He beat me, jumped on me and stamped on me.

"I rose and fell. I was crying with pain. They beat me in the ribs. I asked to be taken to a hospital and they only laughed and asked: 'Why should we take some Arab to a hospital?' They put me back in the car and drove on and threw me out at the corner of Nordau Ben Yehuda Street.

"I managed to get back to the Astoria in Geula Street where Tal'at was waiting for me. He took me to Rokah Hospital. I was hospitalised until the following afternoon. I still suffer pains in the ribs. I can't lift heavy things."

On May 5, the two workers complained to the officer in charge of public complaints — Ziva. Ziva found out who the policemen involved were: Officer Eitan Tshekhanover, Sergeant Solomon and Policeman Eyal Gordon.

Their compaint was passed on to Shlomo Nadiv, complaints officer, May 9. He passed the complaint on to the central department dealing with public complaints in Jerusalem. The Tel Aviv complaints department said they treat such complaints very seriously.

The complaint, No. 247/83, is now in the headquarters. Certain procedures shall now be followed. The complaining parties shall be asked to give evidence, then the case shall pass into the hands of the government's legal advisor or some other judicial body to decide whether disciplinary steps should be taken or whether it is a criminal case.

Attorney Aharon Shenger, who dealt with their complaint, says: "When I first heard their story, I was shocked. I looked into Tal'at's eyes and I was ashamed. I was ashamed that this is the way my state treats the Arabs. I am not bothered just by the beating. I am aware of the fact that the Israeli police use force on detainees.I was mostly disturbed by the humiliation, the disrespect to a human being. It reminded me of the stories of the Jews in the *shtetel*, who were so humiliated by a gang of Cossacks. I have hears many stories by criminals of being beaten by the police. But I have never before heard of such maltreatment that has only one aim — to satisfy the sadistic drives of these policemen." (Translation: Haolam Haze, May 25).

The Party's Over - Shekel Tumbles

A day after going on Israel television to tell Israeli dollar buyers they would not profit by their speculations, Finance Minister Yoram Aridor gave them a bonanza, August 10, by devaluing the Israeli shekel by 7.5 percent.

The devaluation, part of an effort to bring the Israeli currency down to its true level, was part of a package agreed on by the ministerial economic committee and passed now to full cabinet. The package includes higher taxes on food, travel, foreign currency accounts and some government allowances. The programme includes a doubling of travel taxes, taxation of child allowances, reduction of old age allowances,, increasing the rate of taxation on interest on foreign currency holders in banks and taxing sabbatical funds for university professors. Massive cuts in all but settlement budgets are also proposed.

The package and cuts are expected to have a hard time getting through the full cabinet and many adjustments are expected, particularly in the area of ministry cuts.

The occupied territories could benefit from the new economic programme, economists speculate. As the West Bank gets little cash aid and no social benefits, they will not be hit by taxes or cuts and the devaluation will lower prices and probably increase tourism.

WEEKLY REVIEW

Military authorities sealed the entrance to Jalazon camp last week./JN

August 3, 1983

SOLIDARITY VISITS

HEBRON — Local and international delegations continue to visit Hebron University, to express their solidarity. The delegations include members of a human rights group from the US, representatives of the Arab Journalists League, religious institutions, youth movements, Palestinian social and cultural organisations, as well as individuals.

HOSPITAL STRIKE IN GAZA

GAZA — The nursing staff of the Arab Ahli hospital in Gaza has gone on strike for higher pay. The nurses are demanding proper work contracts and the formation of a local workers committee to look after their interests.

They are also complaining against the summary dismissal of several workers. The strike has shut down several hospital wards, and operations have had to be rescheduled. No new patients have been admitted for the past two days.

UNDERGROUND

JERUSALEM — Isser Hariel, former head of the Shin Beth during the Ben Gurion and Eshkol eras, launched a call for the uncovering of the secret organisation or organisations which specialise in terrorist operations against Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories.

Hariel said in an interview with *Koteret Rashit* that he believed the current government is obstructing attempts by the secret services to probe the Jewish vigilante movement, unlike the Ben Gurion government. He suggested the tapping of telephones, surveillance and infiltration methods be used.

BUSINESSMEN MAD

NABLUS — The business community of Nablus is complaining about the difficulities they are facing in obtaining travel permits allowing them to cross the Jordan river bridges to the East Bank. They believe the delays and obstacles placed in their path are a deliberate ploy to hamper their freedom of movement.

DHEISHEH MANOEUVRE

BETHLEHEM — Road repair crews paved the secondary road leading to the Palestinian refugee camp of Dheisheh. The main road was closed two months ago and a court case brought by residents is pending.

COUNTING SETTLERS

JERUSALEM — 35,000 Jewish settlers have settled in various parts of the West Bank, according to Israeli Interior Ministry sources. This does not take into account the city of Jerusalem, where it is estimated 100,000 settlers live.

HEBRON AREA MURDER

HEBRON — The burnt corpse of a seventy-year-old Arab villager from the West Bank village of Dhahriyah, in the Hebron district, was discovered wrapped in a plastic bag, near his home. The man was identified as Ibrahim Mohammed Abu Qubeita al-Batat. Witnesses said the murdered man was last seen alive at about noon as he was leaving his home.

TREES DESTROYED

TULKARM — Unidentified vandals uprooted or destroyed more than 80 trees in an 80-dunum olive grove belonging to Anwar Omar Mas'oud Abu Khalil from Khirbet Adah, near the town of Anabta, in the Tulkarm district. Police have launched an investigation.

August 4, 1983

ALMOST ESCAPED

GAZA — Prison guards foiled an escape attempt by some eight inmates of Gaza prison.

Guards found several keys and coils of rope in their possession.

TWO YEARS FOR STONES

NABLUS — Military Court in Nablus sentenced Ahmad al-Hanbali to two years in jail following conviction on charges of having thrown stones at Israeli vehicles, and participating in a demonstration.

VAT RAID

GAZA — Israeli tax inspectors launched a blitz against Gaza business centres, raiding shops and offices and even the home of one businessman in quest of untaxed goods.

A REOPENING

HEBRON — The Israeli military authorities agreed to a request submitted by directors of West Bank education departments to allow the government-controlled Women's Teacher's training college in Ramallah to be reopened. The college will resume its classes as of tommorrow. It had been closed for several months as a punitive measure following disturbances in the area.

KILLED BY MILITARY JEEP

GAZA — A 33-year-old Gazan fruit vendor died as a result of injuries he suffered after being hit by an Israeli army jeep.

The man, Sayyed Abd al-Ja'abari, was knocked down by the jeep as he was pushing his cart along the street. He was rushed to the hospital but was dead upon arrival. The driver of the jeep has had his licence suspended and will face a military court.

LOST RECORDS

JERUSALEM — The Supreme Court of Israel has reprimanded the Shin Bet (Israeli intelligence) for having destroyed all files of the minutes of the interrogation of two West Bank Palestinians sentenced to life in prison.

The two Palestinians, Adnan Abu Sneineh and Moussa Ahmad Owdeh, had appealed against their sentence, but their appeal was rejected. They claimed they had been forced to confess under duress and asked the court to void their sentence because of the method in which their confession was extracted from them.

FOR WOMEN PRISONERS

NAZARETH — 'Women against the Occupation of Lebanon' organised a demonstration to protest against the harsh prison conditions of Palestinian women prisoners in Neve Tertza jail. The women have been on strike for three months, protesting against the prison authorities whom they accuse of mistreating them.

The prisoners charge that they are now virtually cut off from all contact with the outside world, in an attempt to break the strike.

TAX RAID

JERUSALEM — Sixty-three Israeli revenuers raided Khan al-Aqbat (the Coptic convent in the Old City of Jerusalem) where a number of Arab shoe-makers work in sweatshops. The tax inspectors, disguised as tourists, entered the compound and locked the huge gates to prevent anyone from entering or leaving. The inspectors rounded up 21 'factory' owners and led them away for questioning.

August 5, 1983

IN MEMORIAM

HEBRON — Hebron university's student council held a memorial service for the three students who were murdered in the attack on the campus.

KACH'S LATEST

JERUSALEM — The terrorist Kach (Thus) movement lodged a protest against the police for having offered a large reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the man who murdered Peace Now marcher Emil Greenzweig.

The unprecedented reward of IS1,000,000 is seen as the result of pressure applied by 'leftist' elements, particularly Knesset member Yossi Sarid.

In a stongly worded statement, Kach said that it is logical to assume that this is not a case of murder, but of accidental homicide, caused by the explosion of a hand grenade carried by Greenzweig himself.

AGRO-SCHOOL

HEBRON — Hebron's Islamic University is moving ahead with plans to inaugurate a new faculty for agricultural studies.

Mohammed Ja'abari, board president, said a special committe has now been set up to conduct a feasibility study and draw up a blueprint. He expects the committee to have its report ready within five weeks. Another committee is scouting around for a suitable piece of land for use in field work.

OLD CITY DESTRUCTION

JERUSALEM — The Israeli authorities have ordered the demolition of a house owned by a Palestinian in the Old City of Jerusalem. Owner Abd al-Jawad Shehadeh said that three months ago the municipality had demolished the second floor of the house, in the Bab Hutta quarter, under the pretext that it posed a danger to the people living inside and to passers-by.

The municipal authorities claimed the house was now in danger of collapsing, but Shehadeh denied this. He charged that it was part of an Israeli plan to take over Arab properties within the walls of the Old City.

August 6, 1983

CAMP FOR GIRLS

RAMALLAH — The first summer camp for girls, organised by the Palestinian refugee camp at al-Am'ari, has been a roaring success. Several delegations from West Bank villagers are participating in the camp.

The girls recently toured a number of West Bank factories and held get-togethers with various Palestinian women's groups. The participants are now gearing up for the finals to choose the most successful summer camp in the West Bank.

NO FORMS, NO TRAVEL

HEBRON — Hebronites and residents of nearby villages planning to visit Jordan or travel abroad face a new problem. For a week now the post office has had no forms and despite pressure from travellers, nothing seems to be being done.

ACRE HARASSMENT

ACRE — Police harassment and brutality has taken a turn for the worse in Acre, according to Arab residents who complain of systematic assaults against them.

In a recent reported incident, plainclothes police officers beat up an Arab youth, 'Ala Boulos Hanna, for allegedly molesting a Jewish girl. Hanna was taken to jail where he was beaten so badly he had to be hospitalised. Another Arab was also beaten up the same day, under the same pretext and that same night the girl was seen accosting another Arab youth, according to local people.

An Arab commuter waiting at a bus-stop was picked up by police, and when he returned he could hardly stand. Police are also accused of harassing Arab fishermen, tearing up their nets and chasing their boats.

SHAHIN EXTENSION

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military authorities have decided to extend the deportation order against Abd al-Aziz Shahin (Abu Ali) for a further month. Shahin has been deported to the Dahniyeh region. He has spent three months under town arrest.

DOCTOR STAY HOME

JERICHO The Jordanian authorities have declared a West Bank Palestinian doctor *persona non grata*. Dr Ahmad Assad Hamzah Natshe, who works at the French Hospital in Bethlehem, has been prevented from crossing the Jordan river bridges to the East Bank. He claims he has been given no explanation for the Jordanian measure against him.

FUNEREAL PROCESSION

QALQILIYA — Residents of the town of Qalqiliya walked in a silent moumful procession to the tombs of the two students from the town who lost their lives in the attack on the campus of Hebron University. More than 500 people participated in the procession.

There was no attempt by police or army troops to interfere with the marchers.

August 7, 1983

NASR STILL HOME

QALQILIYA — The Israeli military authorities extended the house arrest order imposed on the former mayor of Qalqiliya, Haj Amin Nasr, who was ousted last year.

Nasr has to report to the police station daily.

NAJAH APPEALS

NABLUS — Al-Najah University has applied to the military authorities for permission to re-open its gates and resume classes on August 20. The university was ordered closed until September 1, following demonstrations marking the anniversary of the June 1967 war and the invasion of Lebanon, June 1982.

It has begun registering students, in rented offices, for the coming scholastic year. The university expects to receive a reply some time this week.

OPEN FOR BUSINESS

NABLUS — The Israeli military authorities have allowed a butcher's shop and a cafeteria in Nablus to reopen after a three-month closure.

MYSTERY DEATH

NAZARETH — A 25-year-old Arab worker from Majd al-Kurum, in the Galilee, who died in mysterious circumstances in Eilat, was laid to rest in a simple ceremony.

Ali Kan'an, an electrical maintenance worker in an Eilat hotel, was on the roof repairing an air conditioner when he died.

According to the hotel's security director, Kan'an was electrocuted while carrying out the repair work, but his family finds this hard to believe since he has been an electrician for over seven years, and knew all the ropes. The security director claimed the mains had been turned off but someone had accidentally turned them on again, causing Kan'an to be electrocuted.

Kan'an's parents have refused to accept this version, particularly since they found the marks of a sharp blow on the youth's forehead.

Members of the Communist party in Majd al-Kurum are joining the youth's parents and the people of the village in calling for a police enquiry into the incident.

INDUSTRIAL ZONE

SHAFA'AMR — The Galilee town of Shafa'Amr has won its battle to open an 'industrial park'.

The town was declared a development area by the Knesset financial committee, after years of struggle by the residents.

The industrial park will be established on a 200-dunum area to the south-east of the town, with ample room for expansion.

The minister of commerce and industry is expected to pay a visit to the town, August 17, to officially declare the government's intention of giving the area development status.

The local council has signed contracts with a government investment authority to set up the required industrial infrastructure.

Ibrahim Dakkak./SF

DAKKAK'S NEW RESTRICTION

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military authorities have banned Ibrahim Dakkak, head of the West Bank engineering fraternity, from entering the West Bank for one year.

Dakkak has also been banned from Gaza for six months. The engineer was recently released from three-years under administrative house arrest.

ACCIDENT

BETHLEHEM — An Israeli military vehicle crashed into an Arab bus picking up passengers at the Bethlehem-Beit Jala junction.

The Israeli car overturned, and some of the border guards riding in it were injured.

HARASSMENT IN NAQAB

RAHAT — Residents of the village of Rahat, in the Naqab, complain of increasing police harassment.

They say police and border guards patrols are setting up road-blocks at the entrance to the village, and stopping all cars entering or leaving it.

Police are taking down the names and ID numbers of the drivers, under the pretext of searching for Atwa Touri, who escaped from Beer Sheba prison recently.

MURDER

RAMALLAH — Two Arab youths were murdered recently in separate incidents in two West Bank villages. Reports, which fail to identify the victims, said a 28-year-old villager of Jeeb, in the Ramallah district, was stabbed to death. His murderer gave himself up, but revenge-seekers attacked his father, wounding him.

In Sourif, in the Hebron district, the bullet-riddled corpse of a 22-year-old youth has been found in an grove.

HOLIDAY NEVER ON SUNDAY

BETHLEHEM — Bethlehem's souvenir vendors would like to get some rest. The vendors have written to the Israeli ministry of tourism, asking for official confirmation of Sunday as their day of rest.

TEXTBOOK INFLATION

GAZA — Thousands of students will be streaming back to their classes at the beginning of next month, and parents will find that they have again been slugged with hefty bills for school books.

Parents charge that prices are going through the roof, mainly because the present system allows 'middlemen' to mark up a 30 percent commission on sales.

August 8, 1983

DHEISHEH TESTIFIES

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli authorities began an investigation into a list of complaints submitted by 15 residents of the Palestinian refugee camp at Dheisheh, near Bethlehem, to the Supreme Court of Israel. The military government set up a special team, headed by a Lieutenant Colonel, to look into the complaints. Sources said the 15 residents have been called to testify.

QAWASMEHS WON'T COMPROMISE

HEBRON — Members of the Qawasmeh family in Hebron have categorically rejected any compromise deal with the Israeli government which could have facilitated the return of former mayor Fahd Qawasmeh, who was deported three years ago.

The Israeli military authorities in Hebron have hinted, sources close to the family say, that if they relinquish ownership rights on the settler-held city bus terminal, the military would revoke Fahd Qawasmeh's deportation order.

The Qawasmeh family say they are opposed to such a deal "on principle."

PALESTINE WEEK IN PALESTINE

ACRE — The village of Jadidah, in the Galilee, inaugurated a Palestine Heritage Week featuring a book exhibition, folklore, dances, lectures and cultural activities.

Organisers say Israeli intelligence (Shin Beth) officers have been mixing with visitors and have interrogated and threatened several Arab youths.

ANABTA TURN

HEBRON — A group of pro-Jordan West Bankers have begun manoeuvering to replace the Anabta town council. The council was headed by dismissed mayor Wahid Hamdallah; the pro-Jordanian faction wants to see him replaced by one of their own.

TAWJIHI TOPS

HEBRON — Abd al-Mun'em Yusef Qawasmeh, a student of the Hussein Ben Aly Secondary School in Hebron, achieved a perfect 10 score in the *tawjihi* mathematics examination.

MANIFEST DESTINY

HEBRON — About 100 Jewish families, currently residing at Kiryat Arba, have applied for permission to settle in the yet to be constructed Jewish quarter of Hebron. The settlement council met with Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens last week and submitted the list of would-be settlers to him.

At least half of the applicants would like to move to their new homes within the next three months. They are ready to move at a moment's notice to temporary sites near the Ibrahimi Mosque, the Daboyya Building or the Usamah Ben Munqeth school. Arens was reported to have promised to study the application.

SETTLEMENT

JERUSALEM — Ninety Jewish families moved into the new Israeli settlement of Efrat, on the Bethlehem-Hebron highway. About 150 students are expected to begin attending classes in the settlement's elementary school. Another 160 families will be moving into Efrat shortly.

DANES VISIT

JERUSALEM — A Danish press delegation paid a visit to Abween village in the Ramallah district.

The visitors called on the parents of detainees and inspected educational facilities in the village.

They were hosted by the Youth Committee for Social Work.

DEMOLITION INSIDE

JAFFA — Israeli bulldozers, backed by squads of police and border guards, demolished the home of an Arab resident of Jaffa and destroyed his fruit groves. Reports said the dawn attack was part of the authorities' plan to level the Ajami quarter of Jaffa and erect a string of villas on the site.

Owner Musa Abu Hassirah said the groves covered ten dunums and provided the 25 members of his family with their sole means of livelihood.

He claimed he had been given no prior notice, and when he protested against the demolition, he was threatened with death.

August 9, 1983

TRAVEL RESTRICTED

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military government imposed travel bans and restrictions on residents of Anabta, Kufr al-Libd, Ramun, Beit Lid and Qalqiliya from travelling to Jordan via the two Jordan river bridges.

NO QAWASMEH COMPROMISE

HEBRON — Fayez Qawasmeh, brother of the deported Hebron Mayor Fahd Qawasmeh, denied press reports saying he had conducted negotiations with any officials within the Israeli military or 'civil administration' with regard to a compromise deal that would facilitate his brother's return to the West Bank.

He noted that he had had a meeting with the head of the 'civil administration', but it had been a private meeting, and he had attended it in his capacity as general manager of the bus company.

EATING DUST

RAMALLAH — The Israeli Court of First Instance for the southern region began hearings into the complaint lodged by residents of the Palestinian refugee camp of Dheisheh near Bethlehem against a nearby Israeli quarry. The camp residents complain that the quarry works pose a health and environmental hazard to the whole camp. The quarry manager denied the charges and said rock blasting posed no danger to the camp, as claimed. The case was adjourned until September 26.

LONGER SUMMER

JERUSALEM — The three-month long summer school holidays will be extended for another three weeks. Classes will resume on September 24, in line with Jordan.

TWO LEFT

HEBRON — One of the three Hebron prison escapees still at large has given himself up to police. Five criminal prisoners detained on theft and robbery charges staged a successful escape last week, but two of them were recaptured within hours. Police are continuing their search for the other two.

CATTLE RUSTLING

NABLUS — The Israeli authorities have rounded up hundreds of sheep and cattle in the Tubas region and driven them to Jericho. Police alleged the animals had been left to graze in a restricted area. Their fate will be decided in Jericho.

WATER HIKE

TULKARM — Tulkarm municipal authorities have begun replacing the town's water pipelines with a wider grid, in order to satisfy the town's growing water needs. However, the increased water supply will be offset by the hike in the water rates. Farmers claim that many of them do not earn enough to pay their water bills. They have appealed to the regional agricultural society for help.

Left, foreigners take a break from working on the new campus of Bir Zeit University. BZU's second work camp this summer took place during the past two weeks./JN Right, volunteers clean up the streets in the Arab neighbourhood of Jaffa./TS

"CONSTRUCTIVE DEMONSTRATIONS": SUMMER WORK CAMPS IN PALESTINE

by Awad Abdel Fattah

Voluntary work has become a regular habit in Palestine in the last few years. Currently, at least six voluntary work camps are taking place simultaneously in various Palestinian villages and towns.

Voluntary work started becoming popular because of the difficult economic and political conditions resulting from the occupation and discriminatory policies followed against the Palestinians by the Israeli authorities either inside the 1948 borders of the state or in the West Bank and Gaza.

Camps tend to take on their own flavours, however. One of this year's camps, in Jaffa, was sponsored as an act of protest against Israeli discrimination and negligence. A major intention of West Bank and camp organisers is to strengthen social relations among their people under occupation. All, of course, have concrete material ends. "The phenomenon of the voluntary work camp," said one Palestinian from Nazareth, "is a creative embodiment of the growing social and political consciousness of the Palestinian masses."

While voluntary work is guaranteed significant local participation, Palestinian workers have found themselves regularly working alongside foreign volunteers from all over the world and Israelis who come to show solidarity with the Palestinian people.

Jaffa Camp

The two-week Jaffa camp, or "constructive protest," as one of the members of the committee called it, was sponsored by the Jaffa Jewish-Arab Action Committee and ended August 5.

Nakhleh Shaqar, a member of the committee, explained that the objectives of the camp were more demonstrative than material achievement. In fact the camp, in which about 90 foreigners and Israelis worked alongside over 250 people from Jaffa's Palestinian population, did not end, for example, with the construction of any new project. The main focus was the renovation of three delapidated houses whose inhabitants had intended to abandon them, like many others before them. Local people see the forced evacuation-through-decay as part of a "deliberate Israeli policy of negligence."

Most work was concentrated on a clean-up of the streets of the Arab populated quarters and local cemeteries.

The camp was started with a budget of US$10,000, most of which was donated by foreign voluntary agencies. "This is why we could not renovate more of the approximately 100 houses and apartments in the same state," said Nakhleh Shaqar. He added that they intended to help the Arabs of Jaffa out of despair and convince them not to leave Jaffa ..... He also revealed that they intend to make use of the news campaign "which this camp will cause, and expose the appalling social and housing conditions of the Arabs of Jaffa."

Apparently, the committee's expectations regarding the news campaign have materialised. Several Israeli and foreign newspapers covered the camp and wrote of the miserable conditions of the Jaffa Arab community. More importantly, Tel Aviv's Likud mayor, Shlomo Lahat, in an interview on Hebrew-language radio, admitted that he has neglected the Arab neighbourhood.

. . . . . .

Amos Gvertz, a member of Kibbutz Shfayim, co-director of the camp and member of the Jaffa Arab-Jewish Action Committee, told *Al Fajr* that the camp will give impetus to the demands which have long been raised by the local Arab community regarding housing and other basic services. He added, "We also wanted to show solidarity with the Arabs of Jaffa and tell them that they are not alone."

The camp was not only confined to work. Every evening of the fortnight-long event there was a cultural programme which included lectures on various subjects concerning the Palestinians inside Israel. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Deir al-Assad

The village of Deir al-Assad stands opposite to the development town of Carmiel in the Galilee. The conditions of the two are incomparable and the Palestinian village of Deir al-Assad is still far behind the exclusively Jewish town regarding basic services and luxury facilities.

Under these conditions, their third international voluntary camp started, July 23, and lasted for 10 days. About 250 volunteers from the village and about a dozen foreigners were involved in the projects of paving about 200 metres of road, concreting a 50 metre-long alleyway; renovation of the cemetery including construction of 20 metres of concrete seating around it, and the finishing of the foundations of the community centre. According to Samih Dabbah, one of the locals, this centre, on which work is going to continue after the camp, will include a basketball court and football pitch when it is completed.

Construction materials, tools and plants were provided by the local council. The concrete mixer of the cultural centre committee worked full-time.

The significance of the camp to the village is manyfold. According to sources on the local council, the work saved them between IS500-600,000. If the independent community centre is included, the cash value of the voluntary camp rises to over IS1 million, a committee member said.

Foreign volunteers were housed with families in the village and a full round of visits and lectures was organised. . . . . .

There were two shorter camps, organised locally in Tamra and Jaffa-Nazareth, August 4-6.

In Jaffa-Nazareth, the work on the community hall and a club for the elderly was completed. According to Andi Bsharat, *Al Ittihad*'s correspondent in Nazareth, the 200 volunteers also painted and made basic repairs to school walls. The road in which the main work of the camp took place was renamed 'Sabra Street' during the camp by inhabitants looking for ways to commemorate the massacre in the Palestinian refugee camp last year.

In Tamra, a village in the western Galilee, similar projects and activities were organised. Besides the clean-up campaigns and painting of the school and street walls, concrete retaining walls were built beside streets in several neighbourhoods. A cultural and arts festival was arranged at the end of the camp.

Summer camps for children are also becoming quite a common phenomenon. Deir al-Asad has a parallel three-week work camp for 300 local children. Perhaps the most ambitious was in Um al-Fahm. There a second seven-day camp was organised by Abna' al-Balad, starting July 31. About 180 children from Um al-Fahm and Kufr Karea in the Triangle and Deir Hanna in the Galilee attended. The Palestinian children, aged six to twelve, were joined by 25 Jewish children, sons and daughters of leftist Israelis.

Ghassan Aghbarriya, secretary of Abna' al-Balad, told *Al Fajr* that camp guides and instructors are supervising.

The camp is based in a forest near Kufr Qara'. The children were divided into three groups. One group is always in camp, the second out on leisure trips and the third visiting historical sites. "For example," Ghassan said, "we took children to Kufr Qara' and explained to them the fierce battles that occurred there between the Palestinians and the Zionists in 1948, and how the whole village was destroyed."

The camp has also seen the possibly unique phenomenon of Arab and Israeli children singing progressive national songs and playing games together. Ma'arouf Aghbarriya, a camp instructor, told *Al Fajr* that the camp had a great educational and national effect on the children. . . . . .

Supplement to:

AL-FAJR

Boys Imprisoned by Israel, Tyre, June 1982

Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly.

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Letter from Birmingham jail, 1963

Torture in Far'ah Prison

By Michael Rabieh

For over a year Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer has been filing protests with Israeli government authorities to demand an investigation into Far'ah prison on the West Bank.[1] Now, in what she calls "the most important thing which has occurred in my work,"[2] she has chanced upon a case which she believes will cause a full-scale inquiry into the human rights violations which abound in Far'ah. However, unless this case is widely publicized, she fears that nothing will result from her efforts to clean up Far'ah.

The Case of Walid Mahmoud Ardah

For more than a month Walid Mahmoud Ardah and his father, Arrabe councilman Mahmoud Ardah, were harassed by Israeli who accused them of inducing hysteria among schoolgirls in connection with the recent widely publicized epidemic illness on the West Bank. Denying all charges, the father contacted Langer to complain about the constant harassment. Langer urgd circulating reports of the incidents, but Ardah deferred, fearing Israeli reprisals. Today he realizes he should have followed Langer's advice.

On May 17 Walid Ardah was imprisoned in Far'ah on charges of "inciting schoolgirls to hysteria."[1] Langer immediately petitioned the Nablus court for his release on bail, and the Nablus judge established May 25 as his review date in the Jenin military court. On that date Langer traveled to Jenin to confer with her client, who was transported from Far'ah. In an interview of 1½ hours, Ardah described the treatment to which he had been subjected in Far'ah, and Langer recorded his account verbatim.

Torture

According to Ardah's testimony, an investigator named Beton asked him on May 22 to confess to the charges against him, but Ardah refused to sign a statement to that effect. Two days later, he was brought before Beton again:

> I was taken to the interrogation center of Far'ah Prison before the investigator Beton and asked to write a confession. I refused and said I was innocent ... Beton then started beating me on the back and shoulders. Afterwards, he undressed me ... and forced me to lie down on the floor. He brought in a bench and put my feet on it.
>
> Beton began to beat me on the feet with a stick. When I tried to avoid the stick, he beat me on the back. I started shouting because of the pain, and Beton

(Concluded on Page 7)

Upcoming COMMEMORATION of SABRA and SHATILA MASSACRE

Chicago **September 17**

Palestinian Prisoners

By Minou Imam

The mass arrests of Palestinians which followed in the wake of the June 4th invasion of Lebanon, and is still going on, is part of a concerted effort by Israeli and Lebanese forces to eliminate an organized Palestinian presence in Lebanon, and to drive them eastwards toward Syria. The invasion of Lebanon, the siege of West Beirut, and the massacre at Sabra and Shatila camps were the more obvious attempts to liquidate Palestinian social organization and thus, attempt a 'final solution' to the Palestinian problem.

The exact number of prisoners held by Israel and Lebanon is unknown.[1] Israeli authorities admit that about 9,000 prisoners have been detained at al-Ansar in South Lebanon; at present about six to seven thousand are still found there. Israel admits to the presence of other camps within Israel, and in Lebanon, but will not reveal their location or the number of prisoners held captive. The Lebanese government, operating around Beirut and the north, admits to two Lebanese prison camps at Badar and Yerze, although it is known that there are many more.

Visitors to camps at Sidon and West Beirut notice the almost total lack of adult males: they have been systematically rounded up and arrested. Those who escaped arrest have fled to the Bekaa Valley.

South Lebanon

On 13 June 1982, less than ten days after the invasion, the entire male population of Sidon was paraded past hooded collaborators, who sat in Israeli military jeeps and picked out men for detention. These hooded collaborators picked out the entire medical staff of the Palestinian Red Crescent Hospital (PRCH) in Sidon. Even foreign medical personnel and UN workers were not spared.[2] No charges were made. They were detained for four days at a school yard in Sidon, and then deported to Israel on June 17. After interrogation, about 7,000 to 9,000 were interned al-Ansar, the rest were deported to Israel. Among the detainees were Dr. Christopher Giannou from Canada, and Dr. Steinar Berge and Dr. Oyvind Moller from Norway, who gave press statements and testified before the foreign affairs committees of Norway and the US after their release on 20 June 1982.

Dr. Giannou's testimony speaks of arbitrary arrests, torture, and ill-treatment at the Sidon school yard and the deportation to Israel.

> During one of my interrogations, I could hear blows struck in the next room, and saw the prisoner as he exited; his face was puffed up, his eyes were blackened

(Continued on Page 6)

LOSSES IN LEBANON*

by Edward W. Said

Disproportionate power and great distance breed extraordinary illusions. One year ago, Israel's enormously potent military machine invaded Lebanon with, it now seems obvious, tacit American acquiescence. One year later, the realization of Israel's many, overlapping goals seems very dubious. What counts much more today is this war's awful detailed misery, the shattering dislocations and human bitterness left in its wake.

What were Israel's goals? Security for the Galilee, the destruction of the Palestine Liberation Organization's military strength, the restructuring of Lebanon, Syria's defeat, victory for United States over Soviet weapons. Other goals were more ambitious and vague, even metaphysical. Gen. Rafael Eytan, then the Israeli chief of staff, suggested that if you had so well-equipped and expensive an army as Israel's, you had to use it, while Ariel Sharon, then Defense Minister, hoped to destroy Palestinian nationalism as an object lesson for West Bank and Gaza inhabitants. The United States, so far away, discerned a chance to efface Soviet influence from the region.

At the center of Israel's action was the single-minded belief that with enough drubbings, humiliations and sheer nastiness, the Palestinians and their national aspirations would go away. In itself, such a policy disproves the argument that the Palestinian problem is not central to Middle East peace. Misguided and often badly led though they may have been, the Palestinians are not so many pawns to be swept away, their institutions dismantled or bombed, their defenseless civilians interned or massacred at will. Indeed, if anything, this Israeli attitude has reinforced the Palestinians' resentment and national identity — and their determination to restore their national dignity by counterviolence if necessary.

What Israeli governments have not grasped is that if Jews did not forget, neither will Palestinians. Since 1948, the Palestinians have developed from a non-people into a nation. Israel's almost uncontested military and territorial strength insulates its leaders and most of its people — prevents them from recognizing that hardly anyone readily submits to the fate of exile and dispossession. Despite the armed might temporarily overshadowing the Palestinians, and the daily encroachment of Israeli settlements and army rule, Palestinian nationalism cannot simply be rolled back like a straw mat, and then set afire.

What about Lebanon and Amercian-Israeli hopes for it, now that many thousands of lives have been offered up? The internecine conflicts that have been going on for well over a century are not ended. One minority — the Maronites — is in ascendancy, but it is by no means undisputed. The other factions are far from pacified, and no new policical means for settling their conflicts have been worked out. The ruling Phalangist Party has its own ideas — quite different from Israel's — about what their national interests are. The drain on Israeli resources (so obligingly replenished by American tax dollars) and the daily attacks on Israeli troops in Lebanon have given Menachem Begin some pause, perhaps. The withdrawal agreement has not been realized — and, for a long time, is not likely to be. Military occupation continues, and the repartitioning of Lebanon has created a host of new complications.

The 300,000 Palestinians in Beirut and in the south are defenseless. Like disadvantaged Lebanese minority groups, they are subject to harassment, summary internment, deportation, loss of employment, selective murder and disappearance. Meanwhile, the press in the United States has scandalously ignored the reign of terror visited on the south and elsewhere in the new Lebanon by Maj. Saad Haddad, Israel's proxy Lebanese commander, by the Israeli occupation and the extremist Lebanese Forces.

All of this is permissible to officials in Washington and Tel Aviv, because to them Lebanon seems to have entered a promising new era. They do not seem to see the routine car bombings, assassinations and kidnappings (to say nothing of armed militias and organized violence) that continue unabated — part of the national precariousness that has deepend since the invasion.

Peace, in short, seems a good deal further away than it was a year ago. Israel's ethnic and religious exclusiveness together with its militarism have bred paranoia and a horrifying disregard of other peoples everywhere in the region — not least in Arab states that persecute their own minorities. Bilateral pacts encouraged by the United States are more media events than real advances. American support for nearly everything Israel does has reinforced a regime of ideological illusions backed by brute domination. The invasion of Lebanon demonstrated nothing except a colossal failure of vision and an idiotic faith in the use of force.

**This article appeared 10 June 1983 in The New York Times, to which PHRC extends thanks for copyright permission.*

THEFT OF A NATION

By William W. Baker

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Las Vegas, Nevada 89111

In this "untitled drawing" by Libyan sociopolitical cartoonist Muhammad al-Zawawi, "occupied Arab land" pleas for freedom while the "United Nations" examines irrelevancies.

LETTERS

To the Editors:

Saturday, August 27, tens of thousands of people will march in Washington. Spearheaded by members of the Congressional Black Caucus and supported by civil rights, labor, and peace organizations, the march will commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the historic 1963 Civil Rights March.

Twenty years later, the agenda of equality for Black America *still* remains unfulfilled. Yet at the same time, there are also new items on the human rights agenda which were barely thought of twenty years ago. The August 27 commemorative march will stress three themes: Equality, Jobs, and Peace. This has already generated controversy — some of the most conservative forces in the labor movement have tried, and failed, to get the issue of peace removed from the march call! At a time of a rapid drift toward war(s), and an economic near-collapse which has devastated American industries, cities, and above all minority communities in this country, August 27 will be one important test of whether a large and well-organized force exists to mobilize against racial discrimination and militarism, for human rights and social justice in America.

Will supporters of Palestinian human rights make their voices heard on August 27? I think we should do so, and in a clear and well-organized way. There are many good reasons why.

First, *we are part of the civil rights movement*. We in the Palestine Human Rights Coalition have always been clear in seeing ourselves in the context of a broad human rights struggle, at home and around the world. PHRC has both an *obligation* to support the struggle for equality in this country, and a *right* to challenge the broader civil rights movement to pay attention to our specific concerns.

Second, *we are part of the peace movement*. Since its founding in 1977, PHRC has raised the Palestinian human rights issue in every possible peace movement forum. Some, like the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, repeatedly refused to touch the "divisive" issue. Others, like the movement against United States military intervention in Central America, have welcomed us as brothers and sisters in a common struggle. Since last year's holocaust in Lebanon, the tide has slowly swung our way as more and more people recognize the issue of Palestine simply cannot be ignored or conjured away.

Third, of all the sectors of American society to whom we have appealed, *the black community has been the most open to our message*. Congressional Black Caucus members Walter Fauntroy and John Conyers have addressed PHRC conferences, as have religious leaders like Rev. Joseph Lowery and Rev. Jesse Jackson. Black leaders visited Lebanon and tried to warn of the coming holocaust *before* the 1982 war. Our alliance with the Black community now needs to be strengthened.

Finally, we must present a challenge both to the American people, and to the peace, civil and human rights movement of which we are a part. On August 27, we must pose the following question to every single participant. *Are your views about Palestinian rights consistent with your own principles which you apply to every other issue?*

If racial discrimination is a blot on America and every other society which practices it, what about the racial discrimination that denies the Palestinian people a homeland?

If destroying minority neighborhoods in American cities borders on ethnocide, what about confiscation of Palestinian land in the West Bank?

If pouring American money into Central America to support oppressive structures makes war inevitable, what about the American government's military aid programs in the Middle East, and especially its two billion dollar annual military subsidy to Israel?

On August 27 we will have a potential audience of tens of thousands, most of whom have never had to think about Palestine and the Middle East in this way. Let's be there with them.

David Finkel
Detroit, April, 1983

IN A NUTSHELL

On the Agreement between Israel and Lebanon

"What is left then is in actual fact an accord between Washington and Jerusalem ..." — Jerusalem Post editorial, 8 May 1983.

John Egan **is a graduate student in International Relations at the University of Chicago.** ***Minou Imam*** **is a free-lance writer.** ***Michael Rabieh*** **is a student at the University of Chicago.** ***Edward W. Said*** **is Parr Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University.** ***John Tomas*** **is a poet and critic living in Chicago. An artist living in Chicago did the drawing on page six. We extend our appreciation.**

INTERVIEW

Jonathan Kuttab

Jonathan Kuttab, a Palestinian lawyer, attended Messiah College in Pennsylvania and took his law degree from the University of Virginia. He co-authored The Rule of Law on the West Bank, *and has recently edited a collection of case histories in which West Bank Palestinians describe their lives under Israeli occupation. (See advertisement, page eight). He is co-founder of Law in the Service of Man, the West Bank affiliate of the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists. John Egan conducted the interview in Chicago on April 18.*

Egan: What does Law in the Service of Man do?

Kuttab: We study the military orders as they come out — just getting them is sometimes difficult — and by analyzing them try to determine Israel's West Bank policy.

Egan: How are the military orders categorized?

Kuttab: They fall into different categories. Their general aim appears to be two-fold: first, to further a policy of Judaizing the West Bank, and second, de-Palestinianizing it.

Egan: Aren't these two sides of the same coin?

Kuttab: Well they're related, but also separate. There are different laws designed to achieve different objectives. To Judaize the West Bank, it is important to acquire land ownership — this means not only having Jews own the land, but also having semi-public Jewish organizations own the land, in perpetuity, for Jews throughout the world.

Egan: What percentage of West Bank land do you estimate is owned by non-Palestinian sources?

Kuttab: Close to 70 percent of the entire West Bank, maybe more — almost all of the land outside the boundaries of individual Palestinian municipalities has been taken over and used by Israel or declared off-limits for Palestinian building. However, it is difficult to estimate with any precision; records are no longer open to the public; to ascertain precisely who owns a plot of land, you must now prove that you have a direct interest in knowing who owns that land.

Egan: What about de-Palestinianizing the West Bank?

Kuttab: This process moved in stages. The first stage was a consolidation of the control over all aspects of Palestinian life. This was accomplished by transferring all the authority that was given to other parties — the Jordanian King, the Parliament, the courts — into the hands of the Israel military governor. Adding to these powers were new powers of licensing and regulation ... For example there are military orders prohibiting drilling new wells without a permit, exporting agricultural products without a permit.

Egan: And it is now impossible to get a permit, practically speaking?

Kuttab: Well, it is becoming so, but only in those sectors which are of interest to the Israeli government. So first land is acquired, then it is controlled through regulation. Once control has been established, the licensing and permits are used as a carrot and stick. If a particular request does not directly concern the Israeli government, then they are used as a means of patronage to promote collaboraters and to punish nationalists, and generally to keep the population under control.

Then there is the tying of the economy and infrastructure of the West Bank to Israel in a subservient role, which prevents the rise or growth of autonomous Palestinian institutions. Towards that end, for example, there are a number of military orders which prohibit the setting up or operating of what is called "an electric institution." This means a generator, a power plant, relay stations, and the like. The goal, of course, is to encourage people to hook up to the Israeli power grid, and thereby become dependent on it. Many people have resisted this.

In addition, the process of de-Palestinization also affects the control and regulation of economic and social institutions. Most obviously, it controls political life there. So there are restrictions on the expression of community, and on the expression of Palestinian nationalism in any way, shape, or form. Most of the regulations in this category are justified under the guise of "security." There are prohibitions on meetings of legal groups without a permit — ten or more people cannot get together without a permit; ten or more people cannot be in a place where they can possibly hear a speech on a subject which can be considered "political" without a permit; art is censored and controlled; the newspapers are censored and controlled; there are restrictions on the use of the word "Palestine," as well as the use of the four colors of the Palestinian flag, and on songs as well as anthems. The idea is that there cannot be an autonomous Palestinian presence on the West Bank, because that would conflict with the idea of Judaizing it, of making it Jewish.

Egan: Could you comment on the rights and status of Arabs in Israel?

Kuttab: The problems with Arabs in Israel, Palestinians who hold Israeli citizenship, is that when you start with the premise that Israel is a Jewish state, then you necessarily discriminate against any non-Jew who is a member of that state. There are different ways that this is done — through laws, through institutions, through landholding. Since 1948 about 92 percent of the land of Israel has been acquired by Jewish institutions for Jews only. It is no longer on the open market, and is no longer accessible to Arabs to buy, to rent, to live on, or to work on. And so right away you are cutting off the Arabs, who number about 15 percent of the population, from 92 percent of the land.

Egan: How does a West Bank Palestinian feed his family?

Kuttab: By controlling the development of the West Bank, the possibility of competing economies is eliminated. Instead, there is a large mass of cheap labor readily available for work in Israel. This makes the market for consumer goods in Israel better because costs are lower.

Agriculture, which is about the only viable sphere of economic activity on the West Bank, has been effectively brought under control by various military orders — there are prohibitions in the drilling of wells, and controls on exports and planting of fruit trees and vegetables, all of which are very strict.

In the field of industry, in addition to all the licenses you need, you cannot bring in any heavy equipment without a permit.

Now a control has been imposed on the bringing in of money. Military order No. 952 says you cannot bring in more than three thousand dollars without a permit, and military order No. 973 says that if your money is coming from a "hostile" country, then you have to deposit it in a fund called "The Fund for the Development of Judea and Samaria." This of course applies mostly to the Arab countries, which is where the money comes from anyway, whether it is a case of someone working there and sending money home, or if it is a case of joint development committees stationed in other countries. Then you need another permit to get your money out of the fund!

> ***"It is difficult to talk about this because you're talking about intentions and making conjecture. But ... I think people will be loaded onto trucks and moved east."***

Jonathan Kuttab — Photo: Ara Jeknian

Egan: Do you get the feeling that the land is going to be Israel's in ten years or so, and that there is little that can be done to change this?

Kuttab: No, it is something much more frightening than that. I think that the Judaizing and de-Palestinianizing the West Bank has been successful on many levels, but there are still too many Palestinians on the West Bank for it ever to be really and truly Jewish. This is frightening because there are some people on the right wing who want to do something about it.

Egan: Meir Kahane for example?

Kuttab: No, there are more extreme people than Kahane, he is just an exhibitionist. I am talking about the Gush Emunim and Rabbi Arnold Levinger, and others like them. I used to say Sharon, but now I say Arens, have, I think, some very frighening and diabolical plans for dealing with the "demographic problem," as it is euphemistically called. It is difficult to talk about this because you're talking about intentions and are making conjecture. But we have recently seen many danger signals on the West Bank that, in fact, there will be the attempt to induce a mass Palestinian exodus. The settlers are talking about such a mass exodus, and are now organized in order to facilitate it. It has been mentioned frequently in the press. I think we know the general outlines of how something like that can happen, and until recently we have thought that it was unthinkable that a thing like that will occur, but now we are not sure.

Egan: Has the Israeli political culture made such a provoked Palestinian exodus which you spoke of somehow less horrific?

Kuttab: No, people will recoil in horror, but right now the event does not require a consensus of Israeli society, it can be done by a small minority. After which, of course, the rest of Israeli society will reap the benefits.

Egan: Will we see Deir Yassin all over again?

Kuttab: Something like that, but perhaps with a twist ... I don't know what the twist

(Concluded on Page 4)

Interview *(Continued from Page 3)*

"People in Israel, including Knesset members, judges, and Labor Party leaders, are literally afraid of physical violence in retaliation for holding and advocating certain views."

will be, but to induce a mass exodus I think there will have to be a national emergency of some kind called, which might warrant such action. I think the settlers will be the cutting edge of such a policy; I think the Israeli government will, as a whole, disclaim responsibility; I think a panic will be induced; and I think people will be loaded on trucks and moved east. One thing is very sure and clear: once they have left, they will not be allowed back.

Egan: What roles do the recent multifaceted "Jordan is Palestine" campaign play in this scenario?

Kuttab: The "Jordan is Palestine" campaign is certainly a major danger signal which we on the West Bank fear: if the Palestinians want a state of their own and Jordan is already a Palestinian state, then let's ship them off to the east. I cannot stress this too much — although it is conjecture, it is nonetheless frightening.

There is another danger, and this is not only for Palestinians. There has been a major shift to the right wing in Israel, and there is a rise in fascism there.

Egan: Fascism?

Kuttab: Yes. People in Israel, including Knesset members, judges, and Labor Party leaders, are literally afraid of physical violence in retaliation for holding and advocating certain views.

Egan: In this country it seems as if there is one settlement on the West Bank — Kiryat Arba.

Kuttab: They are fanatical, yes. However, there is also Shiloh and Ofra — any number of the settlements in the outlying area. Kiryat Arba simply has a larger numerical concentration. Their strength comes from the fact that they are willing to do what the government wants done, and yet is not willing to take the responsibility for. That is why, although numerically small, the settlers are very effective. Peace Now is numerically large, yet totally ineffective in bringing about change on the scale of that of the settlers. This is something that people here don't sufficiently understand. These people can be trusted to carry out some very evil and nasty things that the majority of Israelis and the Israeli government can disclaim responsibility for.

Egan: If settlers are caught shooting up a town, of killing a Palestinian, what are the penalties?

Kuttab: There has never been, to my knowledge, a case where any settler has been convicted of any charge, or punished in any way, for violent acts he committed against Palestinians.

Egan: And what kind of fines are imposed on Palestinians, for example, upon conviction of participating in an illegal demonstration?

Kuttab: They can get up to ten years in jail and about three thousand dollars in fines. Usually the full penalty is not levied.

Egan: There has been some discussion recently of the shift in the type of building in the West Bank, away from settlements and into urban centers. Could you expand on this?

Kuttab: As the planning progresses, things get revised. Immediately after 1967, there were the high-rise residential settlements around Jerusalem. Then there used to be the small agricultural outposts, with one to two hundred units only. Now there are plans to create small towns, urban centers with shopping centers and factories — self-contained miniature urban areas.

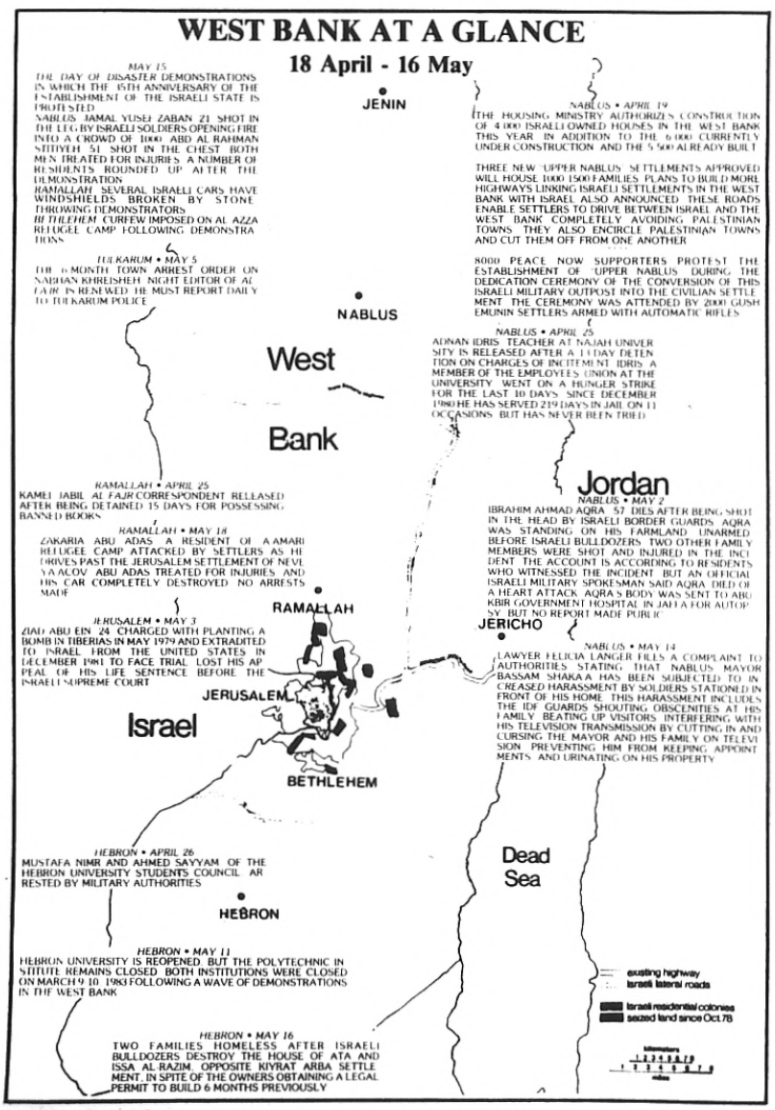
Egan: So while the American government concentrates on freezing the settlements, there can be a switch to building up existing urban units?

Kuttab: Yes, or they'll tell the U.S. that they will only freeze certain areas, or some such thing. The substance of the policy will remain unchanged.

Egan: On a personal and professional level, how do you cope with the occupation?

Kuttab: It is a state of mind to begin with, it is a perseverance. For me, blind hatred is defeat, and submission is defeat. It is something that I have to struggle with, just as I have to struggle to keep the hope alive. In order to survive, I need to hope. At the same time I have to struggle with myself to avoid giving into hatred. For me, giving in to blind hatred is defeating. Finding constructive activity helps me to persevere, and it helps my people endure the occupation. My work with Law in the Service of Man has helped me to persevere.

"For me, blind hatred is defeat, and submission is defeat ... Finding constructive activity helps me to persevere, and it helps my people to endure the occupation."


WEST BANK AT A GLANCE
18 April - 16 May
MAY 15
THE DAY OF DISASTER DEMONSTRATIONS IN WHICH THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ISRAELI STATE IS PROTESTED
NABLUS JAMAL YUSEF ZABAN 21 SHOT IN THE LEG BY ISRAELI SOLDIERS OPENING FIRE INTO A CROWD OF 1000 ABD AL RAHMAN SITTIYEH 51 SHOT IN THE CHEST BOTH MEN TREATED FOR INJURIES A NUMBER OF RESIDENTS ROUNDED UP AFTER THE DEMONSTRATION
RAMALLAH SEVERAL ISRAELI CARS HAVE WINDSHIELDS BROKEN BY STONE THROWING DEMONSTRATORS
BETHLEHEM CURFEW IMPOSED ON AL AZZA REFUGEE CAMP FOLLOWING DEMONSTRATIONS
TULKARM • MAY 5
THE 6-MONTH TOWN ARREST ORDER ON NAIMAN KHRESHEH NIGHT EDITOR OF AL FAJR IS RENEWED HE MUST REPORT DAILY TO TULKARM POLICE
JENIN
NABLUS
West
Bank
NABLUS • APRIL 19
THE HOUSING MINISTRY AUTHORIZES CONSTRUCTION OF 4 000 ISRAELI OWNED HOUSES IN THE WEST BANK THIS YEAR IN ADDITION TO THE 6 000 CURRENTLY UNDER CONSTRUCTION AND THE 5 500 ALREADY BUILT
THREE NEW UPPER NABLUS SETTLEMENTS APPROVED WILL HOUSE 3000 1500 FAMILIES PLANS TO BUILD MORE HIGHWAYS LINKING ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST BANK WITH ISRAEL ALSO ANNOUNCED THESE ROADS ENABLE SETTLERS TO DRIVE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE WEST BANK COMPLETELY AVOIDING PALESTINIAN TOWNS THEY ALSO ENCIRCLE PALESTINIAN TOWNS AND CUT THEM OFF FROM ONE ANOTHER
8000 PEACE NOW SUPPORTERS PROTEST THE ESTABLISHMENT OF UPPER NABLUS DURING THE DEDICATION CEREMONY OF THE CONVERSION OF THIS ISRAELI MILITARY OUTPOST INTO THE CIVILIAN SETTLEMENT THE CEREMONY WAS ATTENDED BY 2000 GUSH EMUNIN SETTLERS ARMED WITH AUTOMATIC RIFLES
NABLUS • APRIL 25
ADNAN IDRIS TEACHER AT NAJAH UNIVERSITY IS RELEASED AFTER A 11 DAY DETENTION ON CHARGES OF INCITEMENT IDRIS A MEMBER OF THE EMPLOYEES UNION AT THE UNIVERSITY WENT ON A HUNGER STRIKE FOR THE LAST 10 DAYS SINCE DECEMBER 1980 HE HAS SERVED 219 DAYS IN JAIL ON 11 OCCASIONS BUT HAS NEVER BEEN TRIED
RAMALLAH • APRIL 25
KAMEL JABIL AL FAJR CORRESPONDENT RELEASED AFTER BEING DETAINED 15 DAYS FOR POSSESSING BANNED BOOKS
RAMALLAH • MAY 18
ZAKARIA ABU ADAS A RESIDENT OF AMARI REFUGEE CAMP ATTACKED BY SETTLERS AS HE DRIVES PAST THE JERUSALEM SETTLEMENT OF NEVI YAACOV ABU ADAS TREATED FOR INJURIES AND HIS CAR COMPLETELY DESTROYED NO ARRESTS MADE
RAMALLAH
JERUSALEM • MAY 7
ZIAD ABU EIN 28 CHARGED WITH PLANTING A BOMB IN TIBERIAS IN MAY 1979 AND EXTRADITED TO ISRAEL FROM THE UNITED STATES IN DECEMBER 1981 TO FACE TRIAL LOST HIS APPEAL OF HIS LIFE SENTENCE BEFORE THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT
JERUSALEM
Israel
BETHLEHEM
Jordan
NABLUS • MAY 2
IBRAHIM AHMAD AQRA 57 DIES AFTER BEING SHOT IN THE HEAD BY ISRAELI BORDER GUARDS AQRA WAS STANDING ON HIS FARMLAND UNARMED BEFORE ISRAELI BULLDOZERS TWO OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS WERE SHOT AND INJURED IN THE INCIDENT THE ACCOUNT IS ACCORDING TO RESIDENTS WHO WITNESSED THE INCIDENT BUT AN OFFICIAL ISRAELI MILITARY SPOKESMAN SAID AQRA DIED OF A HEART ATTACK AQRA S BODY WAS SENT TO ABU KBIR GOVERNMENT HOSPITAL IN JAFFA FOR AUTOPSY BUT NO REPORT MADE PUBLIC
JERICHO
NABLUS • MAY 14
LAWYER FELICIA LANGER FILES A COMPLAINT TO AUTHORITIES STATING THAT NABLUS MAYOR BASSAM SHAKA A HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO INCREASED HARASSMENT BY SOLDIERS STATIONED IN FRONT OF HIS HOME THIS HARASSMENT INCLUDES THE IDF GUARDS SHOUTING OBSCENITIES AT HIS FAMILY BEATING UP VISITORS INTERFERING WITH HIS TELEVISION TRANSMISSION BY CUTTING IN AND CURSING THE MAYOR AND HIS FAMILY ON TELEVISION PREVENTING HIM FROM KEEPING APPOINTMENTS AND URINATING ON HIS PROPERTY
Dead
Sea
HEBRON • APRIL 26
MUSTAFA NIMR AND AHMED SAYYAM OF THE HEBRON UNIVERSITY STUDENTS COUNCIL ARRESTED BY MILITARY AUTHORITIES
HEBRON
HEBRON • MAY 11
HEBRON UNIVERSITY IS REOPENED BUT THE POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE REMAINS CLOSED BOTH INSTITUTIONS WERE CLOSED ON MARCH 9 10 1983 FOLLOWING A WAVE OF DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE WEST BANK
HEBRON • MAY 16
TWO FAMILIES HOMELESS AFTER ISRAELI BULLDOZERS DESTROY THE HOUSE OF ATA AND ISSA AL RAZIM OPPOSITE KIYRAT ARBA SETTLEMENT IN SPITE OF THE OWNERS OBTAINING A LEGAL PERMIT TO BUILD 6 MONTHS PREVIOUSLY
existing highway
Israeli lateral roads
Israeli residential colonies
seized land since Oct 78
kilometers
miles

Law in the Service of Man *is the West Bank affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists, which is based in Geneva, Switzerland. Founded in 1980 by a group of lawyers and other individuals concerned with the legal protection of individuals and collective human rights, it develops and promotes the rule of law in the area, extending services to the legal professional and legal aid and information to the community. LSM prepares studies on the practices and legislation of the military authorities; writes self-help handbooks in Arabic for the legal self-defense of the community; supplies research and documentation on the basis of field reports and affidavits from witnesses; and has opened the first public library on the West Bank, containing primary and reference sources on international law and human rights. LSM can be contacted at PO Box 1413, Ramallah, West Bank, via Israel; or PO Box 35, Wapakoneta, Ohio, 45895.*

Kurtz's Quarry

by John Tomas

In the mid-1960's John Le Carré's novels, particularly *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold,* and *The Looking Glass War,* rescued the spy novel from a well-deserved oblivion. Then the genre was dominated by Ian Fleming and his followers, with James Bond *the* master spy. Le Carré saved the spy genre by de-romantisizing it. He stripped spies of their glamour by reducing them to minor civil servants. Le Carré's spies were nondescript men and women of often uncertain motivation who were worn down by unceasing battles with the bureaucracy for funds. Their main talents lay in correlating and interpreting data, and their small operations took place in a world of ration cards, identity papers, work permits and police where things went wrong at least as often as they went right.

In his latest novel, *The Little Drummer Girl,* Le Carré beats a three-fold retreat from the world of his previous novels. Most obviously he exchanges London, The Circus and George Smiley for Jerusalem, Israeli Intelligence and Kurtz. This shift leads Le Carré to largely abandon the conventions of his previous novels. For example the stage shifts with dizzying speed, from Jerusalem, Beirut, Bonn, Munich, Athens to Paris and London. Moreover the concern with funds for operations that dominated his previous novels is largely absent here. There are a couple of obligatory scenes concerning funding, but Le Carré's heart is not in them. Clearly he has largely abandonned the realistic spy novel.

However the most important and interesting of Le Carré's retreats is his third one — his ideological retreat. Ian Fleming's James Bond lived in a simple world. The Russians and the master criminals who served them were evil and it was Bond's task to save the world from whatever hideous surprise the Russians were planning to unleash. There is little room for doubt or hesitation while saving London from nuclear destruction! In his early novels Le Carré presented a deeply ambiguous moral world. It is no accident that George Smiley has a picture of his opposite number in the Soviet Union, Karla, in his office, or that his wife once had an affair with his predecessor, the mole Haydon, for in this grey world all spies are very much alike. Both sides are willing to involve innocent bystanders and later let them fend for themselves if it suits their ends. Both sides make use of the same techniques: forgery, bribery, blackmail, and physical intimidation.

The question of whether this casual regard for human beings can be justified lurks just below the surface of all of Le Carré's best work, and it is this question which he surpresses in *The Little Drummer Girl,* for in modern-day Israel he has clearly found a cause with which he can fully identify.

REVIEW

The Little Drummer Girl
John Le Carre
Random House, 1983
$15.95

This sympathy is not so much a function of Le Carré's surface comments which are consistently quite sympathetic to the Palestinian cause, but of his basic plot structure. By now the story should be familiar. A bomb explodes in a diplomatic compound in Germany killing an Israeli child. It turns out to have been one of a series of such crude bombs which have plagued Jews in Europe — all delivered with exquisitely complex planning. Israeli intelligence, headed by the hunter Kurtz, believes that a specific terrorist is behind the bombs and sets out to eliminate him. To this end the noted agent-runner Becker is brought out of retirement, and a beautiful young English actress, Charlie, is recruited and provided with an elaborate cover which eventually leads Kurtz to his quarry.

This basic story may be plotted in many different ways. For example, in *The Secret Agent,* Conrad tells the story of an act of political terorism from the standpoint of the terrorist. Le Carré's plot, however, is taken from the detective genre in that it presents a crime which baffles the authorities. The plot focuses on solving the crime, identifying the criminal and bringing him to justice — much as in a Sherlock Holmes detective story. No matter how sympathetically the hunted may be viewed in such a plot the reader's subliminal urges *always* direct him to identify with the hunter rather than the hunted.

The Little Drummer Girl intensifies this subliminal identification by a host of "incidental" details, but the clearest example of how the discourse operates is the way it uses sex to differentiate between Palestinians and Israelis. A long tradition in the detective novel forbids sex for detectives on a case. If a detective breaks this rule, he generally suffers for it. The Israeli operatives remain continent in the field, and this attitude contrasts strongly with that of the Palestinians. The master terrorist and his younger brother are both brought down by their weakness for pretty women. Moreover, the terrorist training camp that Charlie attends encourages random promiscuity among its students. The point here is that Le Carré's novel habitually portrays the Israelis as dedicated, serious men and women and the Palestinians as charming children, fond of trinkets, fast cars and pretty women. Perhaps most damning is the distinction the novel fails to make. It carefully distinguishes the Israeli principals as *good* Israelis — not responsible for their country's outrages against refugee camps, but fails to distinguish among the Palestinians at all. There are smart, tough Palestinians but all, without exception, are tied into the terrorist network.

I do not believe the Le Carré intended to produce the type of turgidly written, inadequately felt novel where the only real characters are Israeli. I believe that he intended to present a complex, multi-faceted view of the Middle-East and got caught, unwittingly in perpetuating unfortunate stereotypes. The problem with this novel is not primarily its unfortunate politics, but its inadequate artistic control.

BRIEFINGS

PHRC
National Report

May and June have been filled with important events for PHRC. In May, PHRC concentrated upon the National Conference in Atlanta, which provided several follow-up programs. The religious, peace, and Arab-American groups in greater Atlanta received an important boost, inspiring several programs of education, human rights work, and basic organizing, now underway throughout the southeast.

PHRC publications have improved in appearance and content since 1 January 1983. Much of the credit goes to Ed Roberts and Tim Devine, who respectively edit the *Newsletter* and *Bulletin.*

Subscribers will receive the *Newsletter* eight times per year, and the *Bulletin* on the months a full newsletter is not published. We always need well-written and researched articles. They should be sent to the National Office.

In maintaining weekly contact with the West Bank, PHRC issued several *Action Alerts* and information sheets on human rights violations. The epidemic in the Tulkarum-Jenin and Hebron districts were of grave concern and many *Alerts* gave detailed information from Palestinian sources and the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. Recent *Alerts* have focused on Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a and an important torture case (See page one).

PHRC and North American Friends of Palestinian Universities are initiating a nationwide campaign on behalf of Al-Najah University, which was closed on 4 June 1983, and will not reopen until September. (See petition on page seven and respond to the National Office.)

The newly opened West Coast Office is planning a major conference in San Francisco this October. Contact Office Manager Janet Jubran in Seattle for details (206/524-2501).

June 4th saw two important activities in Chicago as a means of remembering the date of the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. A conference on "Israel and the U.S. in Central America: The Arms Connection" was held at DePaul University's law school auditorium, with 300 people in attendance. Dr. Noam Chomsky of M.I.T., Bishara Bahbah, a PhD candidate at Harvard University, and Arnoldo Ramos of the FMLN-FDR of El Salvador gave outstanding lectures, which detailed and analyzed previously scattered information. An evening dinner featured Dr. Chomsky and Dr. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod of the Palestine National Council speaking on "The Lebanon War: Thoughts One Year After."

The National Office is now turning its attention to three areas: finding larger office space in July; organizing a national conference to remember Sabra and Shatila, September 16-18; and co-ordinating audio-visual and print resources to better serve PHRC Chapters.

Chapter Report

The Cincinatti Chapter has been active almost since the inception of the PHRC. Joyce Asfour has chaired the group for the last two years. They are currently producing a week-long series of one-hour programs to be aired in mid-July on a public radio station. A second focus of their work is an outreach program with the Women's Studies Department of the University of Cincinatti, supplying films and speakers. Contact Joyce Asfour at 447 Warren Avenue, Cincinatti, OH 45220; 513/559-0995.

CITY: Chicago

Individuals and organizations have intensified their activities in Chicago. Coalitions are being built, and working relations are being consolidated among groups of differing though complimentary perspectives.

Progressive forces, which had earlier come together in the historic electoral campaign of Harold Washington, have been encouraged by the position on nuclear arms taken by the Conference of Catholic Bishops, chaired by Cardinal Bernardin of the Chicago Archdiocese. Perhaps no other major American city provides a political climate as conducive to working for peace and justice in the Middle East as does Chicago.

PHRC has successfully co-sponsored a conference on Israeli-American policy in Central America with Latino groups, exhibiting the type of coalitional strategy necessary if support for Palestinian rights in the United States is to be consolidated. The America-Israel Council for an Israeli Palestinian Peace continues to bring speakers from the Israeli peace movement. Friends of Peace Now and the New Jewish Agenda have active chapters. The Committee for a Democratic Palestine and the November 29th Coalition have sponsored films and other events. Arab-American business, professional, and political organizations are coordinating and supporting each other's activities. Operation PUSH Maintains its principled position on Palestinian rights. The American Friends Service Committee is organizing a city-wide settlement freeze petition.

Whatever disagreements exist between such groups (and they are many), there can be little doubt that the political climate and organizational resources present in Chicago offer a unique opportunity for those concerned with Palestinian rights and peace with justice in the Middle East.

... a great number of those arrested were taken in trucks and dumped on the highway to Damascus.

Prisoners *(Continued from Page 1)*

> and blood trickled from the corner of his mouth. The scene in the schoolyard, however, was one of savage and indiscriminate beatings of prisoners by the Israeli guards.[3]

Dr. Moller and Dr. Berge's account described the weapons used to strike the prisoners:

> ... thick table legs (both round and square) and clubs about 2 centimeters thick and up to one meter long, stiff plastic tubing like garden hose, and thick ropes with knots or metals attached to the end were also used ...
>
> On the first day in the school yard Moller witnessed actions taken against a group of prisoners. They were blindfolded and their hands were tied behind their backs and an Israeli soldier began driving his knees with full force into each captive's groins. When the prisoners crouched in pain, the soldiers struck them over the back of their heads and necks. When they hit the ground, the soldiers began kicking the captives in the stomach and face. In the end, the prisoners were gathered in a heap.[4]

They witnessed the savage beating of a sixty year old man: all three doctors testified that they had seen a Palestinian, Dr. Nabil, who worked at the PRCH, being dragged around the school yard.

> The Israeli soldiers had placed a rope around his neck and he was being beaten with sticks. The next day, the two Norwegians saw Dr. Nabil at the collection camp south of Sidon. He was sitting and staring blankly ahead. He had large wounds on his neck and back.[5]

Four prisoners died at the Sidon school yard, where prisoners were interrogated for four days before being deported to Israel.

On the basis of such reports of ill-treatment and the eye witness account of foreign medical personnel, Amnesty International urged the Israeli government to treat the prisoners with humane considerations and give them prisoners of war status.[6] Amnesty International also demanded that the prisoners have access to humanitarian organizations, to their families, and where possible, to a lawyer. However, it was not until July 18 (forty-one days after their detention) that the prisoners at al-Ansar were allowed access to International Red Cross personnel.

Those Palestinians who were actually in operations against Israel are not at al-Ansar. They are in Israeli prisons and their fate is unknown. The Israeli government will not release lists of names, numbers of prisoners, or locations of camps. To escape detection, and increase confusion, these prisoners are transferred from one camp to another.

Conditions

The population of the al-Ansar camp is mostly composed of Palestinian civilians. They are civilian hostages in a political quarrel. "They are simply Palestinian adult males. There were regimes which detained Jews because they were Jews. At al-Ansar, Palestinians are detained because they are Palestinians."[7]

Even though there have been improvements, conditions at al-Ansar camp violate international regulations, as well as human obligations. Names of prisoners have not been published, charges against them have not been made known to international organizations. Families are refused visits. Concerning the refusal to allow visits, a deprivation felt keenly by men who have no specific time when they can expect release, Col. Rosenwal, in charge of al-Ansar, said, "To arrange visitors for such large numbers ... It is a very big security problem".[8]

The Palestinians exist in a vacuum where no rights exist, no laws operate, and where life itself is threatened on the basis of their national identity alone.

There have been some incidents at the camp, some fatal. On 8 August 1982, eight men were wounded when prisoners climbed the chain link fences in an attempt to reach their families outside. Early in January this year, three prisoners were killed and three wounded when a guard "lost control" of a machine gun and sent bullets ripping through tents where men were sleeping.

Tents are crowded, sanitation inefficient, and medical care negligent. There are about eight doctors for 7,000 prisoners. A letter from an Israeli guard speaks of the inhuman conditions at al-Ansar.

> This feeling of the stink rising from their camp, from the enclosure, the spotlight and the noise of the armed cars, patrolling all night between the enclosures. Four bloody hours, on the control tower you sit, lean on your rifle, looking down — 7,000 people in the tents moving and whispering down there — from time to time someone goes to the lavatories dressed only in his underwear, and returns to his tent. Someone throws a stone from one enclosure to the other.[9]

Under such conditions frustrations mount, but the detainees have kept themselves in check. The soldiers have orders that if the prisoners break the feances, they are to open fire from the watch tower and from the military vehicles.

Legal Status

They lack even the dignity of Prisoners of War, being termed the "brought-ins" *(muav'im)* by their captors. The Israelis refused them POW status on grounds of non-recognition of their state, quite ignoring Article 4 (a) (i) of the Third Geneva Convention, which confers POW protection on "regular and irregular corps," extending it to those who *may* have "committed a belligerent act and fallen into the hands of the enemy", Article 5. The Israeli government terms them "Administrative Detainees under Article III of the Israeli Defence Regulations".

The al-Ansar camp was set up in another country (Lebanon) in order to bypass Israeli law. Any judicial action concerning the

"brought-ins" is out of the question because of the legal vacuum that was created. The Israeli government refuses to acknowledge obligations of international law by denying them POW status; an Israeli court is precluded from dealing with their case since they are held on Lebanese territory; and the Lebanese courts say that they do not hold any authority over the Israeli Defence Forces. This circumvention makes the Israelis completely unaccountable.

The fate of these prisoners remains unknown. Never before has the Israeli army dealt for so long with so many civilian captives, and no one knows how long the prisoners will stay in the stark and isolated camp, despairing over not seeing their families, and not knowing when they will be released. The prisoners fear for the safety of their women and children, especially after the massacre at Sabra and Shatila camp last September. Meanwhile families wait in Sidon, West Beirut, and at numerous other camps, hoping to hear from their male kin.

Visitors to camps at Sidon and West Beirut notice the almost total lack of adult males: they have been systematically rounded up and arrested.

Beirut

After the Syrian defeat last summer, Lebanese forces, under the pretext of re-establishing Lebanese authority, began rounding up Palestinian and Lebanese nationals living in West Beirut and in camps around Beirut. The Lebanese army and police arrested these men as summarily and as arbitrarily as the Israeli forces were doing around Sidon. The mass arrests escalated after the massacres at Sabra and Shatila. By late September and early October there were reports in the U.S. press about acts of violence against the Palestinians and their systematic arrests.[10]

By October, about 4,000 people had been arrested in West Beirut, particularly in the camp at Burj al-Barajni.[11] Having been supplied with lists of names, the army and the police make spectacular raids in camps and whole sections of the city. No warrants of arrest are issued, no jurisdictional appeals are heard. Lists of names are not released to anybody. Families have no access and humanitarian organizations are not allowed in.[12]

The *Manchester Guardian* quoted a western diplomat as saying that a great number of those arrested were taken in trucks and dumped at Sofar on the highway to Damascus. (Sofar is where the Syrian line of control in eastern Lebanon begins). Lebanese forces bulldozed whatever homes had been abandoned in West Beirut, and the government has repeatedly rejected requests by U.N. agencies concerned to set up tents even on a temporary basis. The Palestinian Red Crescent Hospital in West Beirut, which was repeatedly bombed during the siege, and was later pillaged by Israeli soldiers, was shut down on grounds that it did not comply with Lebanese health regulations.

Through the few released prisoners, it has become known that conditions at camps are inadmissible: brutalities, humiliation, withholding of food, water, and medical care, no sanitation, torture, and even murder — such is the lot of the Palestinian prisoners.

Torture at Mathef

This year, for the first time, an eyewitness account of the ill-treatment of prisoners in Lebanon appeared in the press. On 3 May 1983, Paola Crocini, an Italian photojournalist for Associated Press, made public the first western account of systematic torture and beatings of prisoners (both Palestinian and Lebanese) by the Lebanese authorities.[14] Paola Crocini was held incommunicado at the Mathef interrogation center in East Beirut for 36 hours, without food and water, and then expelled without being allowed to meet the diplomatic representatives of her country. Paola speaks of the

(Concluded on Page 8)

Subhi Abu Jamous

Married with four children, Dr. Jamous was in charge of the Maaruf Saad Popular Clinic. He has not been seen since he was arrested by Israeli forces 21 November 1982 at 6 p.m.

Mariam Abdel Jalil

Ms. Jalil headed the embroidery workshop at Burj al-Shemali. She was taken to Israeli military headquarters in Tyre on 1 November 1982 at 2 a.m. She sent a telegram through the ICRC from Ramleh prison for women on 11 November 1982, the last time she has been heard from.

Abla al-Hassan

Married with four children, Mrs. al-Hassan was a head teacher for UNRWA. Arrested and detained three times, she is now held at Ramleh prison.

Torture *(Concluded from Page 1)*

> blindfolded me and stuffed clothes in my mouth to avoid the shouting ...
>
> I tried to sit down and Beton kicked me in the chest. Immediately after this he brought in electric wires and put one on my ear and the other near my abdomen and connected them with electricity. Then I felt the electricity vibrate through my body.
>
> Beton also threatened to send in a man who would try to have intercourse, a homosexual relationship, with me.[4]

After this ordeal, Ardah continued to maintain his innocence, refusing to sign a confession. He was subsequently warned repeatedly not to discuss his mistreatment with anyone.

After registering Ardah's testimony, Langer brought him before the Israeli judge, who decided to hear Ardah's petition for bail in his private chamber instead of the open court. As Langer described the crimes committed against Ardah to the judge, he interrupted her to deny the validity of her claim. She then had Ardah remove his shirt, and she indicated the unmistakable signs of beating on his body:

- large areas on the back and shoulders which revealed internal hemorrhaging under the skin
- club marks on the hands and legs
- swollen, blue feet; the left one so inflamed he could hardly wear his shoe

Citing the severity of the physical condition, Langer requested Ardah's release on bail, even though past experience had led her to believe no judge would release prisoners bearing the tell-tale marks of torture on their bodies. As she expected, the judge denied her request. However, because he had seen the marks on Ardah's body, he recommended in his decision that an investigation be launched into Ardah's case.

Implications of Ardah's Case

Although the torture inflicted on Ardah is horrible in its own right, Langer feels the case's ultimate significance lies in its illustrative value. As she notes, Ardah's torture is not unusual. However, it is the first one she had handled in which Israeli officials have confirmed her accusations of inhuman treatment in Far'ah prison. Because of her efforts, the Israeli Attorney General visited Ardah, and he recommended the dismissal of Beton from Far'ah. This precendent setting move has stirred controversy within Israel. Langer hopes it is the first in a series of steps to bring the prison about which she has complained for so long under the rule of law.

In addition to its implications for Far'ah prison, Langer points out the importance of Ardah's case in reviving concern over the recent well-publicized epidemic on the West Bank. No fully satisfactory explanation exists for those incidents, but, at least in Ardah's case, it seems that Israeli military figures have attempted to extract forced confessions from Palestinian men for inciting mass hysteria during the poisoning scare. Noting that she discovered the torture of Ardah by chance, Langer wonders, "How many cases are undiscovered?"[5] Indeed, the investigation into Far'ah prison which Langer has initiated may reveal other instances of Israeli torture inflicted upon Palestinians to force them to corroborate Israeli versions of particular incidents.

Concerns of Ms. Langer

However, Langer still fears that the long-awaited investigation for which she has been calling may prove fruitless. "We are afraid that the state of this investigation will be as all the other investigations," she says. "Who is investigating whom? The police is investigating itself, or the military governor is investigating himself. We are not pleased with such an investigation."[6] If enough publicity can be generated over the investigation, though, sufficient pressure may be brought to bear on the investigating authorities to ensure a thorough inquiry into the conditions of Far'ah prison.

FOR YOUR ACTION: Write Amnesty International, 10 Southampton, London, Englans WC2E 7HF and request an immediate investigation into torture at Far'ah Prison.

Footnotes

[1]Formerly a Jordanian military post between Nablus and Jenin, the Israeli occupation authorities converted the Far'ah facility to a prison in the seventies.

[2]PHRC interview, 27 May 1983.

[3]PHRC Action Alert, 2 June 1983.

[4]Sworn testimony from Walid Mahmoud Ardah.

[5]PHRC interview, 27 May 1983.

[6]PHRC interview, 27 May 1983.

THE NEW MAJORITY

In a November 1982 telephone survey of 1,020 statistically representative Americans commissioned by the Institute of Arab Studies, Inc., 76% agreed that, based on the 1947 U.N Partition Plan of Palestine, the Palestinians should have the right to establish a state of their own. In addition, 65% agreed to the statement that there would be no peace in the Middle East until the Palestinians had a state. Fully 55% felt that the U.S. should help in establishing such a state. The poll, conducted by Decisions/Making/Information, is accurate within a margin of ± 3%.

ACTIVITIES

Unless clearly indicated, the appearance of petitions in ACTIVITIES constitutes neither sponsorship nor endorsement by PHRC.

The following is the text of the joint Friends of Palestinian Universities and PHRC petition on the al-Najah University closing. ***PHRC endorses this initiative.***

We are deeply concerned over the Israel Military Government's closure of al-Najah National University in the West Bank for three months effective 4 June 1983.

This action is a serious infringement of academic freedom as well as a form of collective punishment against al-Najah National University.

In the name of academic freedom and human rights we call for the immediate reopening of al-Najah National University, and an end to the policy of closing the Palestinian educational institutions as a form of collective punishment. We urge all our colleagues at Israeli and American universities who believe in the principles of academic freedom to demand they be applied to the Palestinian universities, technical institutes, secondary and elementary schools.

The following is the text of the joint November 29th Coalition and Account petition for the prisoners and missing in Lebanon. You may endorse the petition and forward it to either organization on the form which follows. ***PHRC endorses this initiative.***

To the Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee:

The Israeli Army continues to hold without formal charges thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese men who were arrested during the recent invasion of Lebanon. At least 8,000 are being held, and some reports put the number at 15,000. Most are at Ansar camp in southern Lebanon, although reports confirm other detention centers not acknowledged by Israel. Families are given no information on relatives. Even the Israeli press reports routine beatings, denial of basic needs, and overcrowded and degrading conditions.

In addition, the Lebanese Army and some Lebanese militias have detained as many as 2,000 Lebanese and Palestinians at detention centers around Beirut.

We are deeply concerned about the plight of these detainees and the Israelis' refusal to release any information on them. In view of the extensive U.S. military and economic aid to Israel, and in view of the extensive influence the U.S. could exert in Lebanon, we insist that our Government urge the governments of Israel and Lebanon

1) To make public full details on each of the detainees including the time and place of arrest and reason for detention;

2) to expedite the release of all prisoners held solely on the grounds of ethnic identity or political conviction;

3) To grant to all detainees not released Prisoner of War status as defined by the Geneva Conventions including the right of every prisoner not to be subjected to torture or other cruel and inhuman treatment;

4) To allow the observation and verification of the status and condition of all detainees by international human rights organizations.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Palestine Human Rights Campaign
20 East Jackson, Suite 1111
Chicago, Illinois 60604

☐ Add my name to the PHRC petition

signature

☐ Add my name and address to your mailing list.

name

street apt.

city state zip

☐ I have enclosed a contribution of _____ to support this initiative financially.

PRISONERS

November 29 Coalition
PO Box 115
New York, N.Y. 10113

ACCOUNT
PO Box 1358
Cathedral Station
New York, N.Y. 10025

☐ Add my signature to the Ad Hoc Committee petition

signature

☐ Add my name and address to your mailing list.

name

street apt.

city state zip

☐ I have enclosed a contribution of _____ to support this initiative financially.

Prisoners *(Concluded from Page 6)*

whippings and trampling of prisoners and the systematic torture carried on at Mathef. She saw a man whose "head and face were completely swollen, so much that he could not open his eyes. His eyelids were sunk so deep into the swollen flesh. Then the interrogator came and slapped his face shouting 'I told you to keep your eyes open!' "[13]

Since the bombing of the U.S. Embassy this spring, Lebanese authorities have exploited this new pretext to arrest more Palestinians. Although no figures are available, not a day passes without groups of Palestinians being arrested and subjected to atrocious pressure in an attempt to make them "confess" responsibility for the attack. This is done probably to justify a priori a mass expulsion or another massacre. In the south, bands of militia men under Major Saad Haddad roam the country, murdering, kidnapping and intimidating Palestinians. No protection is available for the women, children and old men who remain in the camps. Travel to and from Damascus has become a dangerous enterprise, as the forces stationed at Lebanese checkpoints — particulary those at Birbara and Arbaniya — harass and arrest Palestinians. In recent weeks a number of women have disappeared — many have been arrested and some tortured.

This prolonged and systematic harassment has been effective up to a point: about 50,000 to 100,000 men, women and children have fled the country and are living under difficult conditions in Syria. [14] In Lebanon there seems to be no protection, either for those arrested, or for those in camps. The Palestinians are the legitimate quarry of the Israeli army, the Lebanese army, and the Phalanget militia. The Palestinians exist in a vacuum where no rights exist, no laws operate, and where life itself is threatened on the basis of their national identity alone.

Footnotes

[1]Palestinian Human Rights campaign: 15,000 (total number of prisoners at al-Ansar alone, including those set free and those still being detained); Amnesty International: 10,000 at al-Ansar alone; *International Herald Tribune*, 12 July 1982: 15,000 (quoting Israeli sources on the number of prisoners at al-Ansar alone); *Chicago Tribune*, 23 Jan 1983: between 6,000 and 7,000 at al-Ansar; Red Cross estimate: 15,000 at al-Ansar. These numbers do not include those prisoners held in Israel (number unknown) nor those held by Lebanese forces (approximately 4,000).

[2]On 9 November 1982, UNRWA's Commissioner General, Olaf Rydbeck, stated that 125 UN employees were still detained by Israel.

[3]Testimony before the subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East within the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 13 July 1982.

[4]Report of the Norwegian Department of Foreign Affairs, 24 June 1982.

[5]*ibid.*

[6]Amnesty International, *Appeal to the Israeli Government on Treatment of Prisoners Taken in Lebanon*, 1 July 1982.

[7]"Palestinian's 'Non-POWs' are forgotten men of Lebanon's War," *Chicago Tribune*, 23 January 1982.

[8]Uri Avneri, *The Israeli League for Human Rights*, 15 December 1982.

[9]Report by an Israeli soldier at al-Ansar published in the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*, 5 November 1982.

[10]"Palestinians hunted in Beirut," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 30 September 1982; "Mass arrests frighten Palestinians in Lebanon," *Washington Post*, 1 October 1982; "Palestinians in Lebanon alarmed by arrests and rumors of transfer," *New York Times*, 3 October 1982.

[11]Centre International D'Information Sur Les Prisoniers Defortes et Disparus Palestiniers et Libanaise, Paris 20 January 1983.

[12]*ibid.*

[13]*The Manchester Guardian*, 10 October 1982.

[14]"Eyewitness Reports of Torture in Lebanon," *al-Fajr*, 6 May 1983.

[15]*ibid.*

[16]Uri Avneri, *Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights* 2 December 1982.

Report From Atlanta

A diverse gathering of participants from across the United States and the Middle East convened in Atlanta on May 5-7, 1983 under the theme "WAR AND PEACE IN THE HOLY LAND: What Does Biblical Justice Require of Us?"

Mayor Andrew Young set the spirit at the opening session on Thursday evening as he challenged those in attendance to assume the mantle of justice in the Middle East, despite the pessimism, complexities, and unpopularity which surround the issue. Mayor Young drew upon his experience at the United Nations and as Mayor of Atlanta, drawing parallels to Zimbabwe and to Atlanta's black community. He noted how the people of Zimbabwe, long denied self-determination, their political organization long denied legitimacy, have now overcome these twin obstacles.

On Friday and Saturday, a series of panels addressed such themes as "Lebanon," "Biblical Justice" (from the perspectives of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam), "History of the Conflict," and many others. Friday evening provided a highlight in the setting of the historic Ebenezer Baptist Church. The speakers were Israeli peace activist Dani Amit; Palestinian scholar Ibrahim Abu-Lughod; and civil rights leader and President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Joseph Lowery. In a meaningful moment, everyone linked arms to sing, "We Shall Overcome."

The Saturday banquet featured Dr. Chris Giannou, the Canadian surgeon now serving with the Palestine Red Crescent Society; Margaret McCormack, congressional consultant; and Israeli peace leader Haim Baram. "The Atlanta Declaration," a product of small group process and a writing committee, was adopted at the banquet, with only a few abstentions. Audio cassettes and video-tapes of the major panels will be available in mid-July.

THE ATLANTA DECLARATION

A Proposal for a Just Peace in the Middle East

We are Christians, Jews, Muslims, and others, who seek to serve the cause of peace and justice in the Middle East. We recognize that the Middle East is the birthplace of these three great religions and is the place of pilgrimage, and of numerous holy sites, cultural traditions, and living faith communities which still nourish believers around the world. Although these faiths are a source of belief and hope for their adherents, they are also a source of division, suspicion, and tension among the peoples living in the Middle East.

We are mindful that the holy writings of these three faiths express a view of justice and mercy which affirms the rights of all persons as created in God's image. We are also mindful that this view of justice for all persons calls us to work for healing the divisions in the Middle East.

Therefore, out of these convictions, we address our religious communities and petition our governments.

1. We call for a recognition of the right of all peoples in the Middle East to live on land in which they enjoy the full human rights of self-determination, self-definition, and security. Accordingly, just as the existence of a state of Israel was established to guarantee these rights for the Jewish people and all citizens of Israel, so too do we recognize and support the call of the Palestinians for a state in which their rights are established in Gaza, the West Bank, and East Jerusalem.

2. We call for full rights of citizenship and security to be accorded to all ethnic and religious minority groups in these and other states in the region.

3. We call for the government of the United States to recognize the broad consensus of the Palestinian people that the Palestine Liberation Organization is their representative. We further call upon the United States to recognize the PLO as a full partner in negotiations concerning the future of the Palestinian people in the region.

4. We call for the government of the United States to guarantee the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon and the rights of all the Lebanese people to self-determination, self-definition, and adequate security.

5. We call on all parties* to effect the speedy and safe release of all persons captured during the recent confrontations in Lebanon, the West Bank, Golan and Gaza.

6. We call for all persons captured during the confrontations in Lebanon, the West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan Heights, and still detained, to be accorded their rights under the Fourth Geneva Convention for prisoners of war. We further call for the immediate clarification of the prisoners' status, and that this be followed by a plan for their prompt release in accordance with the standards of international law.

7. We urge the government of the United States to bring full pressure upon Israel to cease all settlements on the West Bank and Gaza.

8. We call for the government of the United States to take leadership in stemming the flow of weapons into the Middle East as a measure to reduce violence in the region. We further call for aid to all nations in the Middle East to be made contingent upon significant and measurable participation in the peace process.

9. We call upon our religious communities to accept their prophetic responsibilities in attaining peace and human rights for all peoples in this region. Specifically, we urge these Abrahamic faith communities to take measures on all levels to promote dialogue and mutual understanding as a primary means of attaining and maintaining peace.

10. We call for the universal recognition of the sanctity of this region, and the understanding that no one people has an exclusive scriptural, historical, or cultural right to the entirety of the territory called the Holy Land.

11. We call upon those struggling for peace and justice in the Middle East to use creative and courageous non-violent means in the spirit of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mahatma Gandhi to achieve their goals.

We recognize the complexity and sensitivity of our resolution. Ours is not a claim to comprehensiveness; yet we maintain that these issues constitute a framework for initiating a balanced and just peace in the Middle East. In our respective faiths, we accept responsibility for our commitments and urge our governments and religious organizations to assume theirs.

Statement of the Southeastern Conference on "War and Peace in the Holy Land," issued in Atlanta, Georgia, May 7, 1983

FOR YOUR ACTION: Please circulate the declaration among clergy and religious leaders and send endorsements to the National Office.

*Specifically, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, the PLO, and various Lebanese militias.

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